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24

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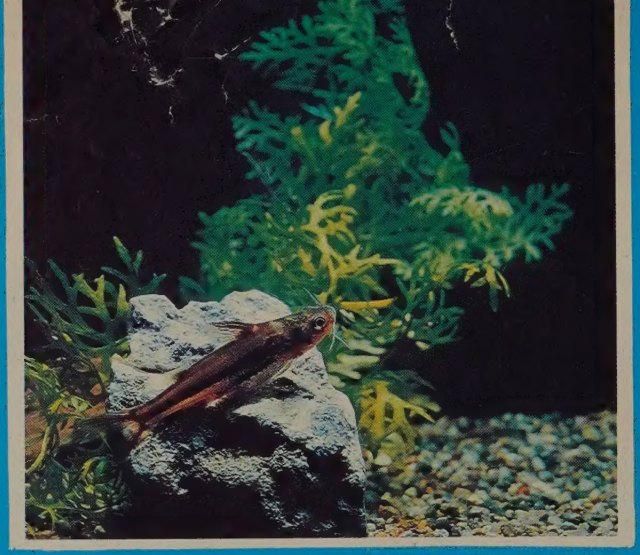

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A SOVIET WEEKLY
OF WORLD AFFAIRS

# NEW TIMES

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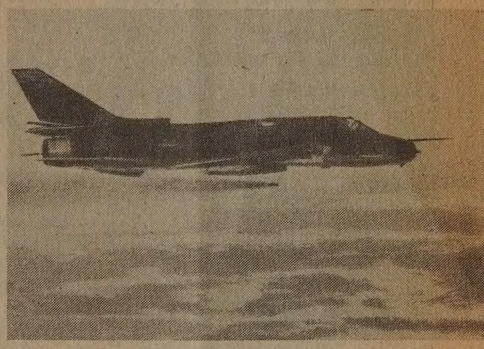

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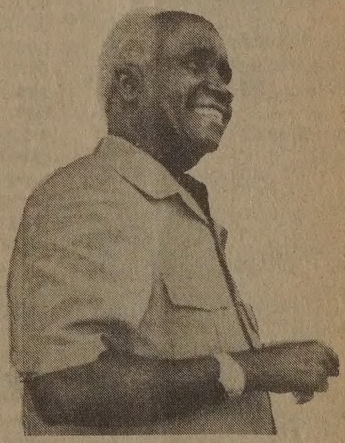

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# From our mailbag

■ I read in *Pravda* an interview with the first deputy commander of the USSR Interior Ministry troops General Alexandr Grienko. In it I couldn't find the answer to the key question: "What is going on in the Armenian villages of Azerbaijan?" It follows from the incoming reports that Baku authorities have been deporting Armenians from Nagorny Karabakh with the help of men and officers of the Interior Ministry troops. So, where is the truth? General Grienko disproves these reports: "The truth is that the republican authorities have driven their people into an impasse. For ordinary people life in this land has become unbearable, and then they themselves, having judiciously considered the existing situation, began to decide as to where they were going to live in the future, where they were going to raise their children and cultivate the land – whether they should move to the territory of Armenia or to make for Russia."

The authorities of what republic "have driven their people into an impasse?" Armenia? If this is the case, then how could they do it on the territory of another republic – Azerbaijan? Evidently, it is, after all, the authorities of Azerbaijan that are meant here. Then is it yet another acknowledgement of the fact that Baku authorities have made the life of their Armenian fellow-citizens unbearable and because of that they have to flee their native land? But this is exactly what is called deportation, expatriation of people.

It is a pity that the general and the interviewing journalist use a lot of strong language, but give very few facts. And I cannot understand it at all when the general who calls upon others to be internationalists begins to divide our politicians and scientists according to their nationality trying to show up those who are Armenians. At the same time, from force of the general's habit Grienko gives orders to everyone – from the president's assistant and deputy prime minister to an academician, teaching them ethics and politics. Are now generals going to tell everyone what they should do? Is it the new model of relations between the army and society?

**Victor Shamyakin**
Leningrad, USSR

• *We received that letter from Amnesty International with the request to publish it in our magazine*

■ The Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine, Leonid Kravchuk, stated about the need to give Moscow the right to run the whole of the nuclear power engineering. Can it be that the esteemed chairman is not aware of the following facts?

The gravity of the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster is connected with the monopoly of the Union departments that resulted in the creation of highly powerful nuclear reactors without protective casings. It is the monopoly of Moscow and the obedience of the Ukraine's leadership that have created the conditions for the many years of lies about the accident and its consequences and the diseases of thousands of people who had been trying to render the reactor harmless.

Through the fault of the departments Mikhail Gorbachev has found himself in an awkward situation when, speaking in the first days after the explo-

## Return the sacred possessions to the believers!

■ The millenium of spiritual and cultural inheritance of the Russian Orthodox Church is the property of humanity all over the world. Nothing displays the unique character of Russian national culture to the world better than religious landmarks.

Everyone who values this character is concerned about the fate of the prominent works of the religious and artistic genius of the peoples of Russia. That is the reason why we, people of various beliefs, citizens of different states, have decided to make an open appeal to the Soviet and Russian authorities to give back to the Church its former property in accordance with the law.

Over the past decades the majority of these spiritual riches was irrevocably lost. The condition of the few remaining landmarks evokes even greater alarm, the state lacks the means to restore thousands of half destroyed churches and monasteries.

According to the policy of privatization of property currently in effect in the USSR, a gradual transfer to the Church of all its property would be, in our opinion, the most reasonable and natural step, and would testify to the sincerity of democratic reforms. It is of primary importance to return universally famous shrines which have been turned into museums.

The sooner all the famous cathedrals of the Moscow Kremlin together with the specially worshipped icons, church utensils and sacred relics are returned to the believers the better effect this act will have on all of mankind.

A trustee council of experts associated with "Resurrection" recently established International Charity Association of Aid to Orthodox Christians in Russia and Eastern Europe, may cooperate with the Russian Orthodox Church, Russian cultural centres and UNESCO to provide a viable, just and competent solution to the issues of the fate of church valuables and the establishment of church museums.

During this difficult time for Russia we must combine the efforts of cultural and religious societies of East and West and support intellectually and financially the cause of saving religious landmarks of Russia and aid the process of spiritual and moral revival of the peoples of Russia.

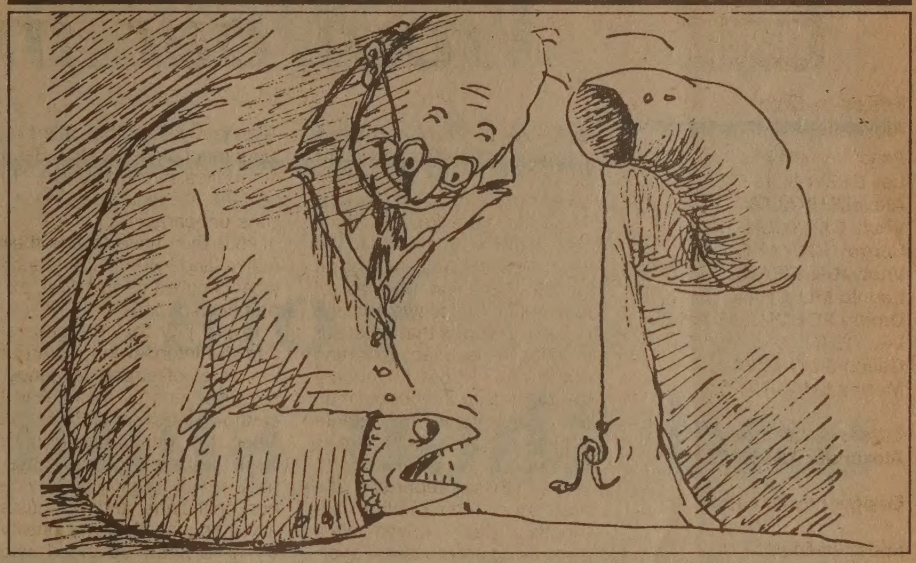
The association's address in France: 53, La Fayette,

**The best method of combating crime? To run fast...**

**Don't entrust your nuclear reactor to anyone**

**"Don't turn the second oldest profession into the first one"**

## THE WAY I SEE IT



*Drawing by Victor Bogorad*

sion, he contended that the Chernobyl accident was in the same street with those that had happened in the West on more than one occasion and accused Chancellor Helmut Kohl of malicious joy when he called the accident a global catastrophe.

Radioactivity in Kiev began to increase from April 29, 1986. The Ukraine's leadership knew about it and at the drop of a hat loaded their children into limousines that rushed the heirs of the party nomenklatura to safe places. But this was done secretly from people. To calm the masses, they organized a grandiose May Day parade at which people received a solid dose of radionuclides.

Rovenskaya nuclear power station continues to operate despite the fact that the ground has already run some 15-metre-deep cracks. The new reactors are being built. At the South-Ukrainian and Khmelnitskaya nuclear power stations the additional reactors are intended for the increased power supply abroad. But already now, 90 percent of the generated power of the first nuclear power station and all power of the second station go abroad. And it is sold at the price of as much as 1 copeck for a kilowatt-hour.

Article 5 of the Union Treaty provides for the joint running by the central and republican authorities of the "single fuel system of the country." Therefore, in order to avoid what the Union departments have done on the territory of the Ukraine and other republics, all questions should be solved jointly with the leadership of a sovereign republic.

**A.I. Golub**
Moscow, USSR

■ I read the *NT* materials about the events in the Baltics from the beginning to the end. The coverage of these events by radio, television and many newspapers filled me with indignation – it was all falsification and patent lie. Granted that television should not do harm to the state. But the lie said on the all-Union television (in particular, about the events in the Baltics) is none other than the kindling of enmity between the Russians and the Balts. My relatives, Russians, live in these republics, and they don't even have an idea how they are supposedly being oppressed there. It is precisely because of this that I am writing to you – to thank the authors of the magazine for an objective interpretation of events in the Baltics. I thank you for preserving the honour of journalists. Like many others, it pains me to see when your colleagues – representatives of the second oldest profession, are working hard to become representatives of the first oldest profession.

**A. Ushakov, pensioner**
Nickopol, USSR

■ I am very grateful to your magazine for the articles by Simon Soloveichik. I realize that he is receiving a bagful of mail, hence I shall try to be very brief.

For God's sake, do everything possible for the name of that man to appear in the press as often as possible. The articles by Solveichik are full of love and compassion for each man without which we are already beginning to choke. I keep on re-reading the book by Simon Soloveichik titled *Pedagogics for everyone*. Upon my word, one begins to see with different eyes his little children. What else except a kind word can save us all?

**Svetlana Abdulkhaeva**
Naberezhnye Chelny, USSR

***Compiled by* Tatiana Chernova**

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**G. Golitsyn, B. Raushenbah, S. Averintsev, I. Arkhipova, E. Sagalaev, B. Mozhaev, S. Zalygin, Yu. Karyakin, S. Richter, Vittorio Strada, Robert Conquest, V. Yanin, O. Volkov, G. Vagner, V. Krupin.**

## And what shall be left for atheists?

■ I call on all citizens of the Soviet Union.

Taking into consideration that partocracy, that has long since turned into mafiacracy, has launched an unprecedented religious propaganda campaign through the mass media, that dissemination of religion among millions of unfortunate and hungry people will result in the appearance of hundreds of thousands of religious fanatics who at the bidding of a provocateur will be ready for everything, including the bloodiest of the crimes;

that the union of the Orthodox Church, the party mafia and Black-Hundreders is growing stronger;

that, actually, the publication of atheistic literature has been completely stopped and the best achievements of the world atheistic thought have been banished from schools and institutes of higher education;

I proclaim the creation of a Society of free thinkers that ought to unite all those who want to struggle against the onslaught of obscurantism and clericalism and coordinate the efforts of all believers and non-believers in their struggle for the building of a truly free and democratic society. Cultural and scientific centres must be protected from encroachments of the Church, and schools and institutes of higher education from religious propaganda. I hope that our society will be able to establish contacts with international organizations of atheists which will make it possible to establish a world Union of free thinkers.

I propose to all those who wish to do so to join this appeal and to begin creating sections of the Society of free thinkers at enterprises, in offices and neighbourhoods.

**K. Krizhanovsky**
The address for contacting us: 2/9, Zheleznodorozhnaya Street, Voskresensk District, Moscow Region, 140240

*ELECTIONS IN RUSSIA*

# Vote and thou shall find

June 12 is the presidential election day in Russia. We hope that we will have many such days, for democracy has not yet found a better way to know the people's opinion than voting. Democracy is not a perfect *modus vivendi* guaranteed against mistakes – but it is the best there is so far.

Who will become president of Russia? Do Moscow and Leningrad need mayors and who will those mayors be? What will be the name of the city on the Neva: Leningrad, Svyato-Petrograd or St.Petersburg? Don't tear the shirt on you, crying: "Hands off the city of Lenin!" Don't turn to the Italian Mafia, seeking help in dealing with unwanted candidates at home. Don't collect compromising evidence against the chairmen of the City Soviets of Moscow and Leningrad. Invite voters to come to polls and you'll soon know everything. A well-organized voting saves nerves, emotions, efforts and energy.

Some say elections and referendums are too costly. But we are not rich enough to afford a cheap democracy. Civil concord is worth more. The ability to solve problems by voting, not by force or slogans, will become our most valuable gain

# Presidential powers

## What the Yeltsin team thinks about the new system of power

An interview with
*Gennady Burbulis*

**What will presidency mean to Russia?**

The new office of the head of state and chief executive will provide for real division of legislative and executive powers and will give real content to the two branches of power. The way this division exists does not provide for any real coordination.

The president will receive direct powers of independent law-making. He will have the right to issue presidential decrees. He will combine the offices of the head of state and the chief executive, in other words, he will take decisions and secure the implementation of them. This is the new aspect.

**Is it not a different edition of the familiar structure of power which used to belong to the Communist Party?**

The nearly-militarized system of administration you are speaking about, and which used to be expedient, has exhausted its historical potential. Unlike the old system of party-state power incorporating the executive structures, presidency is based on a constitutional foundation and will be trusted by the people.

The office of the president personally responsible for all major decisions gives an entirely new quality to the executive structures.

**Where are the guarantees that the presidential form of administration will be effective?**

There is but one guarantee: the recognition by most people living in Russia of the necessity to actively participate in all practical matters. There is no waiting for a miracle coming from the top any longer and the nation has suffered enough to have an effective system of administration that would encourage initiative and independent actions.

**In what way will the president of Russia run the country? Will he prefer his own decrees to dealing with the Supreme Soviet, as Gorbachev did, or will he start appointing prefects to replace Soviets, as Gamsakhurdia is doing?**

Although there can be no uniform system of administration, the following model is preferable for Russia: direct elections of local chief executives and the vertical distribution of presidential responsibility from the top down. Authorized representatives of the president may have to be appointed for the transition period, but their functions will be strictly limited and clearly defined.

**Will such representatives have the right to suspend the decisions of legitimate local bodies of power?**

No, they will not have such powers. They will exercise state control over the implementation of presidential decisions. They will be representatives of the president, not presidential governors. They will not replace local bodies of power, they will not restrict the rights of local bodies of power, they will be a complementary institution. They will explain the presidential position and inform the president about the activities of local authorities.

**The impression is that the government becomes redundant in this system...**

I believe that we will have to restructure the currently ineffective Council of Ministers in such a way as to give the president a direct control over such key departments as the Interior Ministry, Foreign Ministry and State Security. Very probably, a body will have to be set up under the president to work out uniform strategies in the federal framework. In this case, the Council of Ministers will be able to concentrate on its chief concern – the economy. In this case the president will not be a "super-premier," he will have different functions. Thus, the unending discussion as to who runs the govenment will be removed. State and economic functions will be clearly divided. The president will head his council and the premier will chair the Cabinet of Ministers.

The issue of finances is a very sensitive one, but it can be solved as well. I believe that the bulk of the state finance must be concentrated in the Council of Ministers because the priority objective today is to galvanize economic activity in Russia taking into account the existing circumstances.

The main task is to divide the functions and fields of activity. We cannot afford repeating the mistake of the Union presidency which has a very vague definition of the presidential powers, competence and forms of administration.

**What place will the parliament occupy in the new system of power?**

We are going to change the structure and the content of the whole parliamentary vertical. In this connection, one must be able to make a distinction between the level of state administration and the level of local self-government, which exists in any normal and healthy society. We are approaching the conclusion that the full-fledged levels of state administration are the levels of the Supreme Soviet of Russia, the legislatures of individual territories, republics and regions. These structures will possess all the organic legislative functions.

The Supreme Soviet of the Federation will legislatively povide for our strategies and lay the foundation of a state committed to the rule of law. The Supreme Soviet also must distribute its power vertically into republics, territories and regions. The lowest level will be that of local self-government. Local Soviets will have to transform as well, so as to correspond to new tasks and to function as bodies of local self-government.

When we started democratic reform we believed naively that as soon as the party committees lost their monopoly on power, power would be effectively and professionally administered by Soviets. But Soviets had no experience of practical administration, and their very character and structure prevented them from assuming such functions.

**What do you think must be the first steps of the new presidential team?**

First, it will have to work out and publish a strategy of stabilizing everyday life – without such a strategy no administration will survive. People must be informed about concrete tasks, they must stop feeling hopeless at home and at work. The presidential team will have to tell the nation the whole truth. It will have to explain what legacy the presidential team is getting, what the nation has and what it will have to create.

It would be naive to think that the first month of presidency in Russia will radically change the life of the people of Russia. In the current situation, it is not very decent to give promises as many candidates have been doing. The task is to stop the process of disintegration and decay. The legacy we have got is a repressive state as the foundation of the system and an irresponsible population, as a result of the system. The repressive state has remained what it used to be. Repressions can continue in the economic, ideological, cultural and educational spheres, even if no tanks are used and no meetings are forcefully dispersed.

The irresponsibility of the population is manifested in the people's deformed impressions about natural human values and work ethics, the concepts of honour, dignity, conscience, respect for knowledge, professionalism and craftsmanship.

The population has been alienated from power and dependent on power. We hope that presidency will change this situation.

**What brought you to the Yeltsin team?**

I studied the history of philosophy, morality and political problems. It seems to me that my past as scientist is organically combined with what I am doing now. I have been incredibly lucky – I have got a chance to put everything I studied into concrete practical deeds.

**The democrats, in particular, the Yeltsin team are being accused of blunders, errors, populism, even crimes. Are you accepting such charges?**

In this country democrats are a collective name for all those who one way or another opposed the administrative system and its values. Today, we are witnessing a new stage of democratic evolution, the political and ideological situation in society is clear and we can speak about two forces formed on the political scene. One force advocates the so-called socialist choice. The other favours the return to the civilized world (this is the democrats of a new type). I would mention two features of modern democrats: professionalism which was not needed under totalitarianism and was replaced by loyalty to the ruling nomenklatura and corporate group morals; and the ability to stay loyal to the ultimate goal: promoting initiative and independence of the individual, civil and economic freedoms so as to overcome the humiliating condition in which we are now.

***Interviewer*** **Gennady Ariyevich**

**Gennady Burbulis** – people's deputy of the USSR, authorized representative of the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Russia, director of Boris Yeltsin's election campaign, Cand.Sc. (Philosophy)

# Bombs come home to roost

## The incident involving bombing of a Tajik village: explanations given, excuses and condolences accepted, but is the matter closed?

In a recent incident, bombs were dropped on the Soviet territory for the first time after WWII. Namadghuti Poehn, a village on the Soviet-Afghan border situated on the territory of Soviet Tajikistan, was attacked by a plane which dropped five bombs four of which exploded killing four civilians and wounding nearly a dozen. The plane flew back unhampered.

The incident coincided with the fourth anniversary of the resounding air adventure undertaken by Mathias Rust. However, this circumstance doesn't invite a joke somehow. Foolhardiness displayed by Rust could have had a tragic outcome only for Rust himself, while the pilot of the stray plane from Afghanistan performed precision bombing – with a dramatic result. We must compliment the information service of the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for issuing an acceptable explanation the day after the incident: the pilot of Afghanistan's air force left his Kabul base on a mission of attacking the mujaheddin positions near the Soviet border but lost his bearings and dropped the bombs on the Soviet territory by mistake. According to the Soviet air defence, the plane didn't actually violate the Soviet airspace, though the bombs landed a few kilometres inside the Soviet border, which, according to experts, can happen. Consequently, neither the air defence nor the borderguards are to blame, since the latter's responsibility is only the land border and the space above it up to the tops of their observation towers. However, I still refuse to accept that it was all right, even if it was a crazy chance happening unforeseeable by anyone, not only the much-criticized Soviet Armed Forces.

It was difficult to identify the Afghan air force plane as an intruder, because it was the Soviet-made SU-25 attack bomber. Incidentally, the bombs were also of the Soviet make. After the end of the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan a civil war has still been raging there, and the USSR still participates in this war through its supply of weapons, other military hardware and food, at the excuse of building political stability in that neighbouring country. The USSR gave the Afghan government: 56 SU-22s (in 1979–90), 60 SU-25s (in 1986–90), 53 MIG-23s (within the last two years), and – according to unconfirmed reports – a batch of MIG-29s (last year). Afghanistan accounts for 13 percent of the Soviet arms export to the Third World, the third biggest consumer of that commodity. Our striving to maintain stability has had an unexpected effect: a return of our own bombs.

The matter seemed to have been closed, after all the explanations of the incident, expression of regret and condolences. It all happened so quickly that the "muck-raking democratic press" had no time to react with a hullabaloo. A week later no one seemed to remember the past incident any longer. Still, it is very unlikely that the incident will lapse into oblivion without reawakening our awareness of the Afghan war and our aid to the Kabul regime. Will it not be another case (after Iraq) of us arming a monster? I wish that we suffer no more human casualties than the four Tajiks killed by mistake. Flooding Afghanistan with military hardware we are running a risk of it getting into the arms of mujaheddin who are not particularly friendly towards Soviets, of more bombs being dropped on the Soviet territory, and of civilian planes being attacked with Soviet-made AA missiles.

**The Soviet Union gave Afghanistan over 200 fighting planes within 12 years. One of those planes recently dropped bombs on the Soviet territory**

The stray pilot incident has reminded us about the Afghan war and Soviet involvement in it. The recent death toll in Tajikistan was a repercussion of a fratricidal war being waged in a neighbouring country and our military aid to one of the sides in the conflict. The solution of this problem cannot be put off indefinitely.

The Tajik incident once again calls to attention the role of the armed forces in Lithuania and Azerbaijan, as well as interpretation of this role by the Soviet mass media, primarily television. Certain generals believe that the army can do all the farming work in the country. But what about the army's constitutional function: to protect the land and the nation from foreign aggression?

The Soviet-Afghan border was never a quiet place during the time of the Soviet military presence in that country, and shelling of the Soviet territory and unauthorized crossing of the border were not uncommon. Today, two years after our withdrawal, the situation in the vicinity of the border remains unstable: border areas on Afghanistan's side remain a domain of mujahed fighters, which accounts for the current tough life for Soviets accross the border. It would seem that the situation like that should be a valid reason for the Soviet authorities to pay enhanced attention to that area and to alert the forces protecting the border there, so that they would adequately react to any contingency. However, the more important lesson of the incident is in the following. The bombs were dropped from an airplane belonging to the air force of the friendly regime which we help through our instructors, consultants and coordinators and with which we maintain close military cooperation. In this connection, the Soviet military must pay more attention to instructing foreign pilots flying Soviet-made planes, instead of involving themselves with issues of the internal Soviet politics.

*Marina Shakina*

# The procurator's final word

*Alexander Didusenko*

Early in June the Procurator's Office of the USSR gladdened all of us with just another opinion of fundamental importance. In an article "A Fight at the TV Centre" about the Vilnius developments of January 13, which was published in the newspaper *Sovetskaya Rossiya*, N.Trubin, Procurator-General of the USSR, set down the conclusion which his eminent law-enforcement institution had drawn earlier, after the investigation of the Novocherkassk tragedy of June 1-3, 1962 and the massacre in Tbilisi on April 9, 1989. Procurator-General Trubin believes that there was nothing wrong in using arms against the Vilnius population. The victims alone were to blame. Why had they rebelled, resisted, and pushed one another under the tanks?

Such reasoning is very convenient and very well known. Nothing better has been invented so far.

The Procurator's Office gives a lot of evidence in support of its opinion. It would be native to try to contradict that evidence. We still live in "the twilight of the laws," as Mikhail Saltykov-Schedrin, the great Russian author of the past century, called the situation when both, accusation and acquittal, could be found for every action. For instance, in Novocherkassk troops were used against the workers indignant at a rise in prices. In Vilnius troops supported "the natural indignation" of the population at such a rise. There is obvious discrepancy here.

Let us disregard propaganda interpretations and answer two main questions, in this connection.

Question One: What caused armed interference in Novocherkassk, Tbilisi, and Vilnius?

**In Novocherkassk** the authorities regarded the action of workers against higher prices as a rebellion against the system of government and decided to quench it.

**In Tbilisi** the Georgian republican authorities and the central government of the USSR regarded the discontent of the local population with the policy of Georgian leaders and the ensuing demonstrations and hunger strikes of protest as a threat to the system.

**In Vilnius** the republican parliament adopted decisions on Lithuania's secession from the USSR. The central Soviet government regarded that as a threat to the system.

Question Two: Whom did the troops protect in those cases?

**In Novocherkassk** they did not have to defend Soviet power. They protected the factory administration from workers, the municipal authorities from the population,

## Are the victims to blame?

and Communist Party leaders Kirilenko, Kozlov, Mikoyan, Ilyichev, Polyansky, and Shelepin, who had come to that city, from rank-and-file Communists and non-Party people.

**In Tbilisi** the troops protected not the law and order, but the Communist Party and government leaders of Georgia, including Patiashvili and Nikolsky, and the stability of the system in their person.

**In Vilnius** the troops did not protect the law-abiding sections of the republican population from anti-Soviet, anti-Communist, or nationalistic provocateurs and extremists. They protected the unlawfully formed and anonymous National Salvation Committee which had come out against the legally elected government of the Lithuanian Republic, with a view to overthrowing it and returning Lithuania to the USSR.

Such were the main motives of armed interference. The authorities decided to use the armed forces to suppress the population's discontent, firmly confident that they would save the system and, naturally, their own "indispensable" leading role within the system.

I should like to mention one fact in this connection. In the summer of 1962, when the Novocherkassk tragedy was a top secret and could be discussed only in an intimate circle, one high-ranking Communist Party leader said to a group of journalists specially invited to the CPSU Central Committee: "A minor blood-letting was necessary in order to soothe the people and to prevent a major bloodshed." One can see the desire to vindicate "a minor blood-letting" today as well, when reading Public Procurator's materials about the tragedies in Tbilisi and Vilnius.

"Blood-letting" is a remarkable wording. It calls for the question: "What for?" I have mentioned only the direct goals of the actions in Novocherkassk, Tbilisi and Vilnius. The actions of the authorities, however, might have been based on some special considerations which looked like an excuse, at least to those authorities, and palliated their remorse.

From their point of view it is not fair of people to stop working and to emerge under the windows of local authorities, demanding something in a socialist society which develops towards communism, in which top leaders day and night are busy thinking of how to make the life of people better and prosperous. It is impossible! Such an offence should be punished. A malady should be cured right away. Lithuania, for instance, should be quite happy about the fact that half a century ago it was included (even if not quite of its own accord, as it is often said) into the family of sister-nations who had been building socialism and communism. Is it possible for Lithuania all of a sudden to declare that it wants to regain sovereignty? It cannot be tolerated. Tanks and doctors are needed to remedy the situation

The Novocherkassk tragedy of 1962 and the Tbilisi and Vilnius tragedies of our day most clearly show that the government of the USSR is badly out of touch with the people. How can one talk of moral and political unity when the life of the people

cannot be squeezed in the limits indicated by the authorities, coming out, now here, now there, with some political or other kind of problem.

Instead of facing reality as it is, some people at the top (and no one knows of late where else) begin looking for a drastic measure to trim the life of the people according to the ideological scheme of "socialist values," the patriotic scheme of "protecting the state," etc.

No wonder, even the persons who can hardly be called blood-thirsty monsters sometimes resort to such drastic measures. These persons also regard the resistance of the people to their own, Soviet, government as something monstrous, outrageous, and malicious, as a dangerous malady whose spread should be prevented at all costs. Therefore, from time to time some high-ranking government officials want to cut troublesome developments short, or at least to hush them up. That was the reason for keeping the Novocherkassk events a secret and having written undertakings of the eyewitnesses not to tell about them. Decades have passed for the Soviet people to learn about the innocent victims: the killed, the executed, or those who spent long years in prisons or camps.

No doubt, the time will come when we also learn the names of all those people who were behind the tragedies in Vilnius and Tbilisi. The explanations in vague terms that no one from the top government officials gave any order, that Pugo and Yazov had no information, that the President was absent would be insufficient for historians. After the Budapest disgrace of 1956 people also heard many statements that no one had given any orders and that there was no written evidence. Nonetheless, historians have got to the heart of the matter. In this case they will also dig up the truth.

By the way, the press has already published some items about the biassed investigation of the tragedies in Novocherkassk, Tbilisi, and Vilnius, carried out by the USSR Procurator's Office. I wouldn't emphasize "bias." The crux of the matter is that one could hardly expect any other results within the framework of our current legal system. How can one government institution, that is, the Office of Public Procurator, declare that the other government institution, that it, the Armed Forces, committed a crime, protecting the system which is the only one suitable for the existence of both institutions in their present form? No wonder, therefore, that as a result of the three cases of investigation, our lawyers arrived at the following conclusion: there was no corpus delicti, the organizers of and the participants in punitive actions were not guilty, and if someone had to be shot it was done "in self-defence." This conclusion was offered to the Soviet parliament. The members of our parliament approved that (most of them with satisfaction). No one wondered: "Why a procurator has to decide whether a crime was committed or not?" As far as I know, a court of law alone has the right to call a person a criminal or to acquit him of a crime.

Perhaps it is not hard to see why that question was never asked. In one's mind's eye one can see a court, better a jury in session, hearing the case of the Tbilisi tragedy. In the dock is the pick of the Communist Party and the army, beginning with Ligachev, Patiashvili, and Nikolsky, and ending with General Rodionov. Counsel for the defence is the Chief Military Procurator of the USSR and the prosecutor is an independent pariamentary commission headed by Sobchak.

It is not difficult to guess the results of such a trial, therefore it could never meet in session. Of course, nothing like this will ever take place until the law-enforcement bodies in the USSR stop functioning in keeping with the tradition inherited from "the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat" and turn from an instrument of national violence against the citizens into a means of protecting civil and constitutional rights from any encroachments, those of the state included.

While delivering his Nobel Prize lecture in Oslo, the President of the USSR mentioned an idea set forth in his book about perestroika and new thinking: "We want to be understood." It is extremely important that the world should understand us the Soviet people. But with every passing day and hour of our fleeting life, we Soviet people come to see with increasing clarity that it is equally important for us to get to know ourselves and our own history. I can hardly believe that the Procurator-General of the USSR and his officials did not understand those inner motives which had brought about the conflicts in Novocherkassk, Tbilisi, and Vilnius. Experts in their field, and with good conscience, they could not help seeing that it was the system which was guilty of the loss of human lives. However, as functionaries at the service of the system, they did everything to acquit this system.

Truly, it is not too well to be a procurator today, when, in performance of his duty, a person has to defend what is unworthy of defence and to prosecute what should not be prosecuted.

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# Archive dust

## KGB secret files as a political weapon

The Moldavian sociologist and advocate of complete independence of Moldavia, Mircia Druk, has resigned as Moldavia's prime minister. The immediate reason for the Druk resignation was a letter he had written long ago and which was now published in a local newspaper. President Mircia Snegur of Moldavia and a number of Moldavian MPs have long been disappointed with their prime minister and the 1974 letter written by Druk came in handy at the right time. In this letter addressed to the KGB Druk narrated his services rendered to the Soviet secret police, concluding his report with the words "I have been a Communist, I am a Communist and I shall remain one!" The letter surfaced exactly at the time when the Moldavian parliament was considering a vote of non-confidence in Druk – and buried the prime minister's political career.

A triumph of justice or a neat hit in the political struggle?

Dmitro Pavlychko, People's Deputy of the USSR and the Ukraine, also an advocate of full republican sovereignty, has long been the target of Communist press attacks. The set of accusations is standard: a defector, an anti-Communist, a separatist, a nationalist. And suddenly the Ukrainian *Rabochaya Gazeta* obtained a killer argument against its opponent Pavlychko.

At a 1955 KGB interrogation young poet Pavlychko volunteered information to the KGB that another poet was "a bearer of bourgeois-nationalist ideas foreign to our reality." Where did the newspaper unearth the classified document? It was furnished by the Odessa branch of the KGB in a gesture of unprecedented generosity. The KGB does not even allow children of repression victims to take as much as a look at their parents' files, so as to prevent them from seeing the names of the informers – "proceeding from humanitarian consideration and so that not to foment hatred in society." Why should the KGB have renounced their principles and rules, strictly observed in other cases?

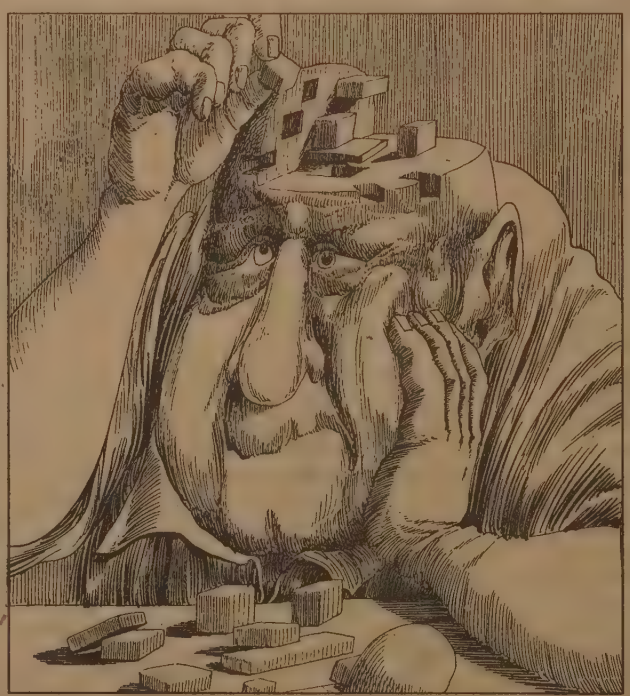
One more Ukrainian poet, Boris Oleinik, has done a lengthy quoting from the protocols of interrogation of Pavlychko in a recent issue of the Communist Party daily *Pravda*. In his article Boris Oleinik confronted Pavlychko with serious moral accusations. Does the People's Deputy have any right to speak about the free Ukraine if he spoke up against bourgeois nationalism at a local KGB office 36 years ago? Does he have any right to condemn the Communist Party, if he wrote so many poems devoted to Lenin?

Dmitro Pavlychko is not the first one to hear such questions from his former fellow party members.

Five years ago the Ukrainian poet Vitaly Korotich, appointed editor of the weekly *Ogonyok*, was also attacked along this line. His opponents fished Korotich's review of Brezhnev's book *The Small Land* out of the long closed political journal *Politicheskoye Samoobrazovaniye* and confronted the liberal editor with this shattering piece of evidence. The radical democrat, historian Yuri Afanasyev was accused of having been an editorial board member in the journal *Kommunist* and of having been an advocate of socialism and an opponent of capitalism.

Later this tactics became widely used in political debates. Anyone daring to speak up against the Communist Party's leading role or for private agriculture, for instance, is immediately confronted with quotations from earlier books or utterings. People are being vehemently baited for having worked for the Central Committee apparat, or taught at a Marxism-Leninism department, or served loyally to various General Secretaries... Who is revivifying the Communist past of leaders of new political parties and movements? Former dissidents who had preferred to be locked up in labour camps to cooperation with the regime?

No. Unlike Boris Oleinik, some people do not think they are infallible and do not venture into judging others. Dissidents, former inmates of labour camps, display a truly Christian joy when they see one more sinner converted to truth rather then a hundred of righteous people who have never sinned. The indignant and furious ones are those who are fighting for what they call "socialist choice," Communist prospects, meaning the prospect of keeping intact the pyramid of power where they are on top, while the rest are down below. And they fight ferociously.



The Ukrainian poet Oleinik even contributed to the Russian language when he enriched it with the new word – Commutants, meaning Communist mutants, defectors from the CPSU.

Any time-serving is repulsive. Naturally, there are new time-servers, possessed by superdemocratic extasy. It is bad when people become democrats seeking additional perks.

But are the old time-servers any better? Old time-servers are lecturing new time-servers on morality.

The struggle against anti-Communism is becoming an immensely profitable occupation. An ordinary deputy department chief becomes a Politburo member. A provincial poet gets a parliamentary mandate and all the attending benefits not in tough political struggle, like Pavlychko or

Afanasyev or Korotich, but sitting cosily at a Central Committee plenum.

The very word "Commutants" reflects its author's rejection of any mutations, any changes, even if they are changes for the better. What is required of people? Don't change, go on living as you have lived before, vaccilate only with the CPSU vaccilations, worship the party bosses, listen to the party oracles and vote obediently. Those who do not want to play by such rules are Commutants, meaning renegades, defectors. And we have a way of dealing with defectors. The use of secret KGB files in political struggle is enough of a warning.

Leafing through one's opponent's old books was a game open to everybody. Today the rules of the game are different. Quotations are supplied not from the commonly available books, but from the heavily guarded CPSU and KGB files. The accusation is grave and does not allow any forgiveness or justification: cooperation with the Communist Party and the secret police.

This is a formidable weapon – the CPSU understands it, so does the KGB. They are only using it against people whom they want out of the way for good.

The two episodes, with Druk and Pavlychko, should make us think about the turn the political struggle can take. We could have thought about it earlier when our East European neighbours confronted the problem of state security files. The old documents from those files ruined the lives of people who had just had a chance to act in a worthy manner. Those people had never been paid agents or informers. State security officers who infiltrated the whole society simply interrogated them and recorded their answers in the files with the terrifying stamp "To be preserved forever." The guilt of such people was highly doubtful but the secret police was so much hated that there could be no forgiveness.

In this country the situation is different. The KGB is not dissolved or reformed. The USSR Supreme Soviet has missed the opportunity to reform it. Old files can be used once again. However, they can only be used by those whom the owner of the archives thinks deserving the trust. The secret police will never betray its secret agents, paid informers and stool pigeons. But it would readily destroy persons who had got involved with it by chance.

*Leonid Mlechin*

*Drawing from Die Zeit (Germany)*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# How to strike

## and how to live without strikes

### The experience of Soviet dissidents and American trade unionists

**Lyudmila ALEKSEYEVA** is a participant of the human rights movement of the 1960s, member of the Moscow Helsinki Group. She was forced to emigrate after she spoke up against the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. After emigration, Alekseyeva became a representative of the Moscow Helsinki Group in the West. She participated in organizing a similar group in the United States – Helsinki Watch (1978) and worked as that organization's consultant for Soviet affairs. Since recently Alekseyeva has worked for the AFL-CIO as a consultant for the working-class movement in the Soviet Union.

**New Times.** What do you think about the role of "the most revolutionary class" in the process of changes in the Soviet Union?

**Lyudmila Alekseyeva.** The success of democratization in the USSR depends on the prospects of the working-class movement. If the working class remains democratically oriented, the country will progress along the democratic way. If not, the country will be plunged into nationalism and populism.

**N.T.** Don't you think that today's working-class movement possesses a number of built-in weaknesses: elements of uncontrolled restiveness and a kind of loyalty to the socialist ideals in the absence of any democratic experience? If we remember the most well-known workers' uprisings of the 1960s, we will see that most of them were nothing but outbursts of uncontrolled anger. Today this factor is aggravated by the workers' rejection of free market economy and narrow-minded desire to solve all problems through concessions from the government and privileges granted by the obsolete system...

**L.A.** You are right. In the 1960s the element of restiveness was extremely strong. Even during the 1962 events in Novocherkassk. The Novocherkassk events stand out because they were actually an all-city strike with clear-cut demands and demonstrations – nonetheless there was an element of mutiny in those events too. The troops started shooting to kill after the demonstrators broke into the building of the city party committee.

You correctly mentioned the negative features of today's working-class movement. And if these features were the dominating ones, I would not be surprised. It would be a normal result of the previous development. There would be no other choice but to wait until the enlightened segments of the working class arrive at correct economic conclusions following the intellectuals. But the surprising fact is that alongside "socialist values" sound and modern ideas are also to be found in the working class.

**N.T.** Do you maintain personal contacts with workers' leaders?

**L.A.** Delegations of Soviet coal-miners came to Washington twice and we talked. Last time, it was this spring when I interviewed Vladimir Ozhegov from a Lyubertsy plant and Mikhail Kislyuk from the Kuznetsk coal fields. Kislyuk was a member of the strike committee then and he has been elected to the regional Soviet where he is now in charge of economic matters. When I tried to discuss trade unionism with them, they here and then dropped purely trade union topics and started speaking on things like economic restructuring, privatization, etc. "Don't you think," I asked, "that it is not the task of trade unions to promote privatization, which means virtually to be creating new owners?" Kislyuk gave an interesting answer: "Yes, we want to create owners for ourselves. As long as we do not have owners we will not know against whom we should fight for our rights. What we have now is something faceless, shapeless, untangible, you can't feel it, you can't understand what it is. And when we face the exploiters, the trade union will struggle with them for our rights."

**N.T.** First to create a concrete exploiter and then to spit in his face...

**L.A.** Exactly. Recently I attended a conference of independent Soviet trade unions. It was a year after the strike during which the workers believed it was enough to make the government promise and it would carry out the promises. Since then, the independent trade unions have covered a much longer way and have almost parted with the former illusions. They seem to understand now that without an effective free market economy workers will gain nothing. However, I would not say that this is the common understanding.

**N.T.** How would you explain the decline in the strikes movement? The attempt to renew the strike in Byelorussia for instance fell flat: the organizers were supported by only several thousands people...

**L.A.** I would not be in the least surprised by the failure of some of the workers' initiatives. What surprises me is the workers' successes. These people do not have any experience: neither personal nor social. The experience of the Russian trade unions accumulated before the revolution and still present during the first few post-revolutionary years has been eradicated.

Reading Western literature devoted to the history of trade unions, you see a lot of references to Russia: Russian trade unions

Kuzbass: school of political action in the USSR

were, in a way, ahead of Western trade unions. Suffice it to remember the well-known Vikzhel – the trade union of railway workers. In the first post-revolutionary years it organized a colossal strike in Moscow, which the textbooks of the CPSU history ascribe to the Party of Constitutional Democrats. It was a serious political force, revolutionary force which did not follow the Bolsheviks and opposed the government of "the proletarian dictatorship." That is why the trade unions were destroyed.

In the 1930s, trade unions were finally eliminated together with literature on trade union movement and people who had experience in trade unionism.

It surprises me how little today's workers know about their own history. As a rule, they are looking to the West. But the Western experience is of no use for this country! Trade unionism in economically prosperous countries is one thing and trade unionism in a country in a crisis is quite another.

**N.T.** Do you agree that Soviet intellectuals do not understand workers now just as they did not in the 1960s?

**L.A.** Yes, this is our traditional problem. "Badly out of touch with the people," as Lenin wrote. I even see some fear of the working class. Intellectuals are used to living in their specific environment, they have distinctive symbols and a distinctive vocabulary that allows them to freely communicate with each other. Each departure from this environment is painful and the situation in this country is a far cry from what it was like in Poland, where the predominantly intellectual KOR engineered the formation of Solidarnosc. In Russia, things are more complicated. Intellectuals are organic in the human rights movement, but remain foreign to the workers' movement.

**N.T.** Do you think the workers' movement is doomed to failure without intellectual guidance?

**L.A.** Very fortunately, I am observing that the workers are not in so bad a need of an intellectual influx. There are a lot of clever, well-educated, truly intelligent people among workers. They earn their living by manual labour, but they are intellectuals nonetheless.

**N.T.** In other words, the uncivilized system of payment for one's work has done a good service to the trade union movement?

**L.A.** That's right. Workers are finding intellectual forces among themselves. The new leaders of the workers' movement are very clever and articulate people who know what they want. For instance, the leader of Byelorussian workers, Mikhail Sobol, is a remarkable and very clever person. If workers lack something, it's the something intellectuals lack as well.

They lack organizational experience. Besides, our society is very hierarchic. People of one stratum often do not know how people of the other strata live. Intellectuals do not know how to deal with workers, and workers do not know how to deal with intellectuals. Their leaders who have to deal with the people in power, with foreigners by virtue of their position, often do not know their way around. They apply the stereotypes of their world to the world which is different from theirs. The ways workers' leaders interpret the motives of the authorities – why they were supported or why they were turned down – are absolutely mythical.

**N.T.** What is your attitude to the official press' charges that the West, in particular the AFL-CIO supported the Soviet workers' movement "for subversive purposes" during the recent wave of strikes?

**L.A.** In principle it is only normal when some newspapers support a strike, while others seek reasons to condemn it. On the other hand, when *Pravda,* the mouthpiece of the Communist Party, sheds tears about the economic losses incurred by the miners' strikes, it sounds hypocritical since during their rule the Communists have damaged the country much more than any strike could...

The AFL-CIO supports independent Soviet trade unions and in particular, the independent trade union of coal miners. The AFL-CIO always supports trade unions in the countries where the working-class movement is repressed or only emerging. If a strike begins somewhere, the AFL-CIO sends humanitarian help to the strikers and their families out of trade union solidarity and irrespective of the demands of the strike. We did not have enough time to send this humanitarian help to Soviet miners and confined ourselves to moral support.

When there are no strikes, the AFL-CIO believes the workers must be as interested in the profitability of their enterprises as the employers. Otherwise no strikes will help change their lives for the better.

A delegation of the AFL-CIO is coming to Moscow next June, it will be composed of trade union leaders and presidents of American coal mining corporations. The businessmen will visit the Donbass and the Kuzbass and will then offer their recommendations as to what could be changed in the mines that have been turned over to workers or republican authorities in order to enhance the profitability and how to organize production so that to avoid more strikes.

It is clear that a strike is an extreme measure which is ruinous for the economy. Nobody can be interested in it.

***Interviewer*** **Lev Yelin**


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# Let us at last make a DEMOCRATIC CHOICE

**Let socialism remain in the past, let communism recede from us further into the distant future, and let the normal way of life, democracy, triumph in this country today as it has almost all over the rest of the world**

**WHAT'S GOING ON?** "For the life of me, I can't understand what's going on," "an old friend of mine, a construction worker who can talk politics for hours on end, complained to me. "I can't understand a thing!" he repeated, knocking on his forehead.

Neither those of us who have hardly had any schooling at all, nor those who have passed examinations in the history of the Party for ten times or so can understand anything. The social religion professed by our society until recently is collapsing or has collapsed already, the yesterday's gods are being railed at, and the ideas, pernicious by old standards, which, within living memory, used to bring imprisonment, torture or even death upon those who voiced them, are now being preached in the papers in the open.

All this is puzzling, indeed. One can understand the colonel who demands that all the parties be banned for a while, and their headquarters sealed, and the Komsomol Secretary who demands that a moratorium be imposed on the words socialism and capitalism which ought to be restricted to the philosophers' vocabulary. Scientists do not want to hear these words, either. "Let us stop arguing over which is better – socialism or capitalism," a professor of political history suggests, "let us feed, shoe and clothe our 300-million-strong nation first, and then weigh all the pros and cons and make up our minds in which direction to proceed further."

As an old student song goes, "Enough of all that talk and wrangle." Let us seal the party headquarters, seal the lips, close down the faculties of history, let's "get down to business" at last. However, the phrase "let us feed, shoe and clothe the people" (rather than "let us let the people feed, clothe and shoe themselves") goes to show that the author has made his choice and, for that reason alone, calls for an end to the argument.

This is all wrong. Now is the time to talk and argue. Perestroika and glasnost have cured us of our fear of words. Anarchists no longer disguise themselves as Marxists but call themselves anarchists. Democrats call themselves democrats, and monarchists, monarchists.

It is only the adherents of the socialist choice, i.e. Communists, who do not quite know who they are, who keep distancing themselves (the most fashionable political expression today) now from other parties, and who cannot decide what to do about the past, whether they should respect it, renounce it, repent it or carry on the traditions – and which traditions, precisely? The Party's past revolts any sensible person; the prospect of the economy changing over to free market relations does not fit in with the Communists' theoretical notions to the extent of scaring them, and their world, so seemingly unshakeable until quite recently, has begun to crumble. Many get the feeling that they are "going nuts."

This makes it all the more necessary to talk and argue because the shouts of "Stop it! We've had enough!" are not all that innocent; the implication is "Let us leave well alone, why fray each other's nerves?"

It is precisely these arguments, however, that the answers to the question of whether our people is fed, clothed and shod, and to many other questions related to material and spiritual matters, depend on.

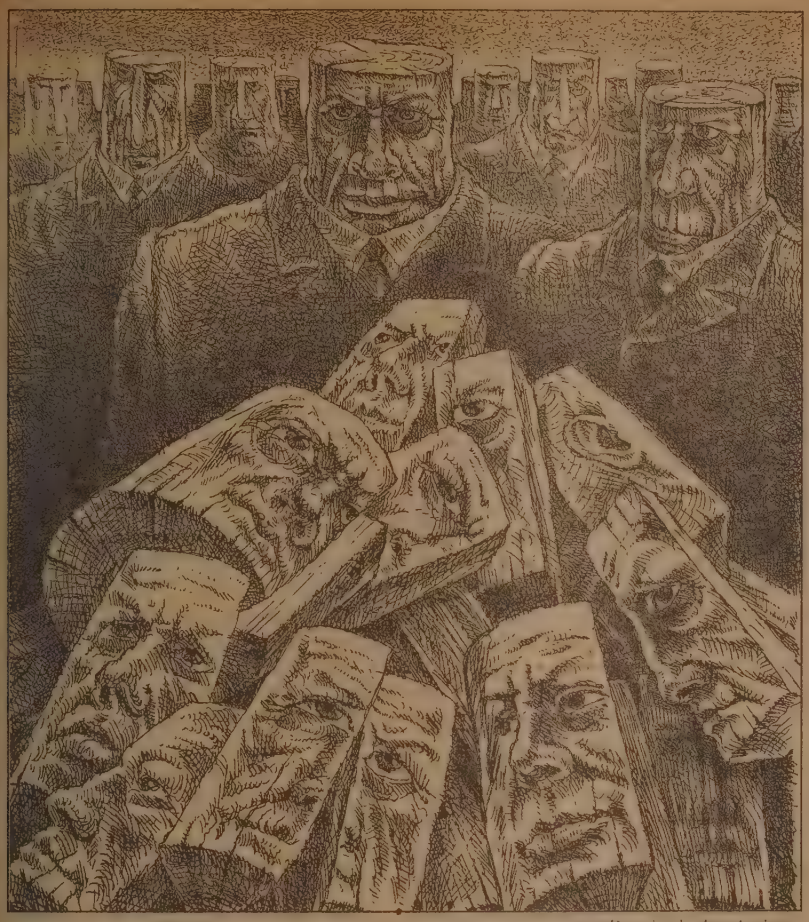
**HOW VERY SIMPLE IT ALL USED TO BE!** Here is how we saw things: there is (or will be) communism, the cherished dream of mankind come true. There is socialism (a reality!) which, I quote, ("is distinguished from the second (higher) phase by a degree of the new society's economic maturity and by the level of development of the masses' communist awareness." Please note; socialism is characterized not as such, but as a lower phase of a higher one. Isn't it clever? Since socialism is a step to perfection, everything that happens under socialism is justified in advance. We shall not swerve from the socialist road, we are building communism, tha fairest society on earth.

If anyone proved that communism is a horrible idea, then socialism as a step towards it would lose its appeal to the people forever. But no one has seen communism in action, while the very idea is to make life perfect. I am saying this in all seriousness, although it is not quite safe to make such statements today. People have got sick and tired of the very word "communism."

*IS GOING ON*
**WHAT**
*WILL BE*

But for all that, let us ask ourselves:

**WHAT IS COMMUNISM?** In order to get the answer "from



*Drawing by Igor Smirnov*

the horse's mouth," let us turn to the source of modern communism – to the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. Before Marx and Engels, communism had meant to most people common property and common wives; this latter part of the great idea came under fire and ridicule from many critics, but the founders of the teaching retorted that the bourgeois society also eroded the family – and left it at that; they didn't renounce the "common wives" principle, which still provides ammunition for their critics.

Wife-sharing apart, however, the *Manifesto* revealed its authors' entirely new, unprecedented, unorthodox notion of communism. Let me quote two important phrases from that document.

First: "... the theory of the Communists may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property."

Second: "... the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."

I have passed examinations in Marxism a hundred times, but I have never noticed that the above two statements are in strong contradiction with each other.

The first statement is about property. The second one is about man.

What does communism concentrate on – property or man? After all, these are different things. The principle of common property had been constantly discussed before, but the principle of man appeared in communist literature for the first time in this form. It sounds wonderful: free (in the *Capital* it is also "full") development of man – what can be loftier, more humane, purer, fairer and, the most important thing, more real? No mention is made of the idea of all people being equal whatever the differences in their mental faculties – Marxism proclaims the right to a full (sic!) and free (sic!) development (sic!) of all nature has endowed man with. All the present philosophers are talking about is the promotion of "communist consciousness" (conscious means obedient), but the classics of old declared for the development of the essential powers of the individual. "Actualization", "self-actualization" are the terms used in this context by modern Western psychologists who do not consider themselves Marxists but who repeat what two young pioneer Marxists wrote in the middle of the last century.

Communism is an ideal. But what about the first principle proclaimed by the *Manifesto*, that of abolishing private property ownership? This is just a means of attaining the ideal.

**WHAT IS SOCIALISM?** In all probability, the reason why Marx and Engels called their theory communist rather than socialist, and the spectre which haunted Europe – a spectre of communism rather than socialism was that the word "socialism" had not gone into currency then yet. It first appeared in the press – specifically, in an article by Pierre Leroux, a former St.-Simonist – as late as in 1834, and stood for something opposite to individualism. It was only in 1842 that the connection between socialism and the emergent proletariat was noticed; gradually, the working-class movement began to identify itself with the idea of socialism and came to be referred to as socialist. The first principle of the *Manifesto* was separated from the second one, the contradiction was smoothed over, the elimination of private property ownership came to be regarded as the surest means of attaining the communist ideal which was becoming less and less of a talking point.

As a matter of fact, socialism and communism are not two rungs of a ladder (a lower one and a higher one): the former is the means towards the latter. Man is the end, and property is the means. But the whole trouble was that the notions which, as we see, mean entirely different things are constantly confused, interchanged or regarded as synonymous. This confusion was perpetuated in 1918 when the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (Bolsheviks) was renamed the Communist Party. The idea was to distance itself from the Western Social Democrats who had different notions of democracy and dictatorship; imperceptibly the builders of socialism came to be regarded as builders of communism. No line of distinction was drawn between these words, I repeat, with the result that the October Revolution kept its initial name, "socialist." The International, however, was Communist, and the world revolution, eagerly looked forward to, was termed Communist.

...Actually, socialism is – horrible dictum! – not the first and lower stage of communism. What's more, socialism as a means contradicts communism as the end.

Anyone who says that he is both for the socialist choice and the communist ideal becomes, imperceptibly for himself, a peddler of fried ice.

**REVOLUTIONARISM.** In order to unravel this tangle, let us dwell on the word "revolutionarism" which, although rare, is

important. Just as socialism was proclaimed to be the first phase of communism, revolution was regarded as an unavoidable step towards socialism. Human psychology is such that the means promptly turned into an aim in itself – a revolution for a revolution's sake, for the sake of eliminating the enemy: "Keep the revolution going, the enemy is not asleep!" Where there are a revolution and revolutionarism, the enemy is the central figure. A philosopher described this dependence as "amorous hatred for the past..."

A revolution for a revolution's sake, revolution out of hatred for the past – such is the ideology of revolutionarism. It was much later, and abroad, that anti-Communists appeared; in 1917 there were simply "contras," and in 1937 people were shot for "counterrevolutionary activity," although no revolution was in progress in 1937. Revolutionism, not communism or socialism, was the sign of the times. In the book *140 Conversations with Molotov*, which I have already quoted elsewhere, Molotov is sharply critical of the slogan "We are building communism." With amazing frankness this protector and unmasker of communist holiness says: "'We are building communism' is just a pretty signboard, just an attempt to shun revolutionary activity." The two notions – revolution and communism – are opposed to each other. According to Lenin, Molotov says, "... our ideology is: 'Overthrow capitalism by a socialist revolution!' Such is our ideology." Amorous hatred for the past.

The contradiction between the end and the means towards it is an eternal human drama. For instance, Stolypin's programme of action which he expressed, in a condensed form, as "pacification first, reforms later" caused, in Alexander Kerensky's opinion, the very upheavals Stolypin was strongly opposed to.

But don't we hear, now and again, the same motto: order and stabilization first, reforms later? Those who repeat it do so too often, and are too greatly concerned with "pacification" and with relapsing into old ways to make it obvious that the word "reform" is pronounced only as a matter of form.

**SOCIALISM WITH A HUMAN FACE.** An agonizing question arises: was what has happened to our country really necessary? Is the real socialist nightmare an unavoidable result of the revolution or just a set of unintentional and rectifiable mistakes? Reality is horrible, but does this mean that the theory is bad? Should the idea of socialism be renounced for good, or should we make another attempt at building it, i.e. remain faithful to the socialist choice in spite of all?

Nikolai Berdyayev was all but the first to put forward the idea of socialism with a human face fack in 1937. He wrote in the book *The Sources and Meaning of Russian Communism* that "communism in economic life is compatible with humaneness and freedom." He adduced no proof of that, and neither do the present advocates of socialism who claim it to be compatible with democracy. How are they going to combine the two? Calls are often made for borrowing the best features of capitalism and combining them with the best features of socialism – but how is this nonsense to be put into practice?

Besides that, people are embarrassed by the names of certain ruling parties in capitalist countries: the Socialist Party, the Social Democratic Party... Or by such a word combination, for instance, as "Swedish socialism."

So is it possible, after all, to combine socialism (the elimination of private property ownership) and democracy (freedom and humaneness)?

The snag is that all the above-mentioned parties are purely democratic ones functioning in countries with a more or less pronounced tendency towards social equality, with state control over only a small proportion of property, but with the right to private property ownership remaining inviolable, and with that form of property predominating. As a system of government, socialism is incompatible with democracy in principle because public property ownership calls for a universal planned economy and, consequently, for compulsory economic ties and compulsory prices. For their part, compulsory prices lead to extra-economic coercion with regard to people and, consequently, necessitate a "vanguard party" having power over people's lives, i.e. totalitarianism. Totalitarianism is a product of public property ownership and a planned economy. And although the call of "More socialism! More democracy!" sounded quite attractive until rather recently, now it is obvious that the more socialism, the less democracy. That is, if the real meanings of these words are anything to go by.

**DEMOCRACY.** Volumes have been written about democracy – not for us, unfortunately; we haven't read them. Over six years of perestroika, the words "democratic" and "democracy" have been reiterated on every occasion, but no one has taken the trouble of writing a clever and popular book on what democracy is, who the democrats are, what they are after, and what our country would be like if it became a democracy.

Our brand of democracy would probably be a very special one because elsewhere the word has been the antonym to aristocracy, and in our case it is the alternative to totalitarianism, i.e. to socialism. History has filled the ancient word with new content, and now it is hard to tell who falls into the "demos" category, and what "cracy" – power – is. Times change! The word "people" now stands not only for a community, a nation, or the poorest section of society, but a group of individuals. The word "democracy" now sounds like Marx's "communism" – a free and all-round development of every man. Astonishingly, the democratic ideal now largely coincides with the communist one, if either word is interpreted correctly.

Marxism is rather disdainful of hired workers, regarding them as second-rate, and our today's propaganda suggests that those who have no property and will hardly ever possess it had better forget all about dignity. However, hired workers – if offered worthy conditions and a worthy pay – are capable of inspired individual and collective effort. Democratic egalitarianism does not only mean equal rights and equal opportunities, it also asserts the individual's value in his own eyes and in the eyes of society. It is not for nothing that in many countries democracy is the supreme value which is an aim in itself and which people are prepared to lay down their lives for. Democracy is freedom, and freedom is worth any sacrifices. Democracy has a much greater appeal as a social ideal than socialism with its mismanagement, rightlessness and backwardness or communism which is all but centuries off.

If socialism means the elimination of private property ownership and a planned economy, then democracy is closer to communism than socialism, anyway. Socialism is a barrier to democracy and communism alike. Those who stand for socialism are actually against communism, and let us be honest about it – our ruling party ought to be called (for as long as it adheres to the socialist choice) anti-communist, and the advocates of socialism – out-and-out anti-communists.

The rivalry between the different systems of government has been on for almost a century. Isn't it time we saw reason and opted for democracy, at last? Let socialism remain in the past, let communism recede from us further into the distant rosy future, and let a normal way of life – democracy – triumph here as it has almost throughout the outside world.

*Simon Soloveichik*

# How to abolish privileges

## The highly developed system of privileges has not been damaged by perestroika...

The Soviet parliament is expected to adopt a budget for the second half of the year 1991, and the Defence Ministry expenditure will certainly be revised. Early in the year the generals won the fight for their budget, declaring that 96.5 billion rubles is the minimum needed to maintain the country's defence capability. The hearings in the parliament's committee on privileges makes one wonder whether it is so indeed. The committee examined "disorder and misuse of military transport aircraft."

**People's deputy Ella Pamfilova, secretary of the Supreme Soviet's committee on privileges:**

It is not the first time that we examine shortcomings and abuses in the Defence Ministry. The first hearing was devoted to country houses and reserves of the ministry. Our committee passed a decision on violations committed by the Defence Ministry in their use and the Finance Ministry carried out an inspection which confirmed our conclusions.

The latest hearings on misuses of transport aircraft mainly involved marshals and generals familiar to us from the "country houses" affair. The same people bought the cheap pieces of the furniture sold from the country houses after people moved out. Grandness has flourished among generals, and it undermines the Army from within.

When I spoke to the Supreme Soviet, deputy Umalatova defended the Armed Forces, saying, "Don't attack the Army. Don't excite the people. Stop attacking the Army."

Nobody is going to attack the Army. For instance, I feel keenly what is taking place in the Army. All social evils in the Army are now exposed as openly as in the society as a whole. The evils are aggravated by the conversion of defence-related industries, the withdrawal of troops from other countries, and cuts in the Armed Forces. There is a host of social problems: The absence of decent accomodation for officers and their families, terrible living conditions. Young soldiers are being killed in the Transcaucasia. What for? Can one attack the Army, these soldiers who suffer through the faults of our politicians? It is not we but lords in the rank of generals who undermine the prestige of the Army.

The committee has no independent experts to rely on. There are experts capable of carrying out a thorough inspection, but they have no powers to do this. The "untouchable" departments have always been closed to the public, and no one has ever examined their work. Recently we heard the accounts of several top government officials and became convinced that even the Finance Ministry did not inspect the work of higher bodies. They are completely out of control.

I think that the question of abolishing privileges cannot be solved in principle under the present defective system. Our committee is only a cause of irritation everywhere, even in the Supreme Soviet. We are always told that our inspections are inappropriate and should be postponed. Whom can we ask to conduct an inspection? The Military Prosecutor's Office? The chief military prosecutor Katusev, who conceals the death of our soldiers to protect the reputation of the brasshats? The Soviet system has engendered clans of officialdom. There are such clans in the party, trade union and government apparatus. A person who gets into such a clan finds himself under the protection of executive power, which ensures a comfortable living for him, his children and even grandchildren.

The clans are linked by "brotherhood." Its laws are higher than the laws of the country. The "brotherhood" knows that it must ensure a quiet and secure old age for its predecessors. Former Premier Ryzhkov has not changed anything in this system. Moreover, a feverish "privatization" of state-owned country houses began with his personal approval. The current premier Pavlov is a man of a different formation. He is a pragmatist and an expert in finances. But I am afraid that a new elite will appear. I don't know at present which elite is worse. The new elite can be even more terrible, because it is rapacious and unscrupulous. In the past they had a privilege for creature comforts provided by the state, and today they have a privilege for the privatization of property. And they take advantage of this privilege on a wide scale. They will do well. And what about the people, an ordinary man who works honestly?

**Col. Alexander Tsalko, people's deputy of the USSR:**

We have specially equipped TU–134 planes on which generals are supposed to fly with the aim of exercising constant control of troops. It is not true. These planes never fly to conferences and assemblies with command post teams on board. As a rule, the commander and a member of the Military Council fly to such meetings. They take a noncommissioned officer and, possibly, an errand major with them on some occasions, that is, the service personnel. The teams of command posts

*Drawing by Victor Bogorad*

are not taken on board, and without them the control of troops is impossible. Besides, every high-ranking officer, leaving his unit, hands over his control duties to his deputy. It turns out that a deputy remains without means of control. That is why from the rostrum of the 28th Party Congress I accused the defence minister and the chief of the General Staff of an extravagant use of aircraft.

The main reason for such extravagance is the complete lack of control over the defence and interior ministries and the KGB. Since the Defence Ministry is subordinate to the President he must organize control over it. Since the parliament allocates funds it must know how they are spent. I know that the Committee for People's control was subjected to heavy pressure from the Defence Ministry. The Defence Ministry was able to "defend" some of its high-ranking officers. A flier phoned me and said that a general of the Army, and a people's deputy incidentally, used IL–62 plane to send a furniture set to his son living in the Far East. The information did not get into the people's control bodies.

Transport means ought to be used in the economy. They must not be kept at the expense of the budget. I do not propose to set things right. It will be a futile occupation. It is necessary to take planes with their crews away from the defence and interior ministries and the KGB and transfer them to commercial organizations for money. Today some enterprises are prepared to pay millions of rubles for a transport plane. They will make profit and the treasury will receive taxes for the budget.

At present Aeroflot sometimes cancels flights because of the lack of fuel. The Soviet parliament has adopted a decision on the step-by-step effecting of the law of the freedom of travel, because 100 more planes are needed. Aeroflot will receive more planes for international routes only by 1995.

*Tatiana Lekhto*

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

# Talking to Europe

**The tradition according to which Nobel Prize laureates deliver their Nobel lectures in Oslo gave Mikhail Gorbachev an opportunity to visit Norway and Sweden for the first time. Naturally, during that brief visit the prospect of mutual relations was also discussed**

Northern Europe must become our closest neighbour economically, politically and humanly. The relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Japan etc. are very important, of course, but they are not the only important ones. For most Europeans and most UN members it is very important how the Soviet Union treats smaller countries, not great powers.

The Soviet Union will be seen as a peaceful and democratic state after our closest neighbours stop fearing us, and when Swedish and Soviet yachtsmen start freely visiting one another across the Baltics, and a railway stretch along the Soviet-Norwegian border replacing the Iron Curtain.

## Ideas and plans – so far

So far, the situation is entirely different: the conflict-ridden Soviet Union is sending controversial signals to Scandinavia. Perestroika and democracy are nice things, but the crack-down in Vilnius and Riga are quite alarming. Soviet troops are being reduced in Eastern Europe, but at the same time more state-of-the-art weapons and troops are being deployed in the north-western regions of the USSR. The economic reform seems to be starting, but the general administrative muddle in the USSR undermines Soviet trade with Northern Europe, negligible as it is. These are only the main reasons for the Scandinavian worries.

When he spoke in Murmansk in 1987, and in Helsinki in 1989, Mikhail Gorbachev tried to meet the northern neighbours halfway by putting forward a number of initiatives. Assessing those initiatives soberly now, one cannot fail to observe that they had been intended in many respects for other great powers but presented in the form of a conversation with the smaller neighbours. As a result, the idea of reducing naval activity on the Baltic has remained nothing but an idea, the plan to establish a nuclear-free zone in the north of Europe proved still-born and the invitation for joint exploitation of the Northern Marine Route was regarded as something of a joke.

I deliberately cite the two ranges of questions because the difference between what the Soviet Union is interested in and what North Europeans want is indeed great. This time the Soviet delegation was more pragmatic – it discussed the real demands of the neighbours, comparing them to the Soviet interests. Some topics of discussion were inherited from the past – the issues of international cooperation in the environmental protection and nuclear safety happily defined in Murmansk. Our neighbours as well as many Soviets are seriously concerned about the discharges of nickel plants on the Soviet Kola Peninsula, the absence of purification facilities in Leningrad and other Soviet Baltic cities. The Northern Investment Bank has established a special fund to finance the production and practical application of environmental-protection technologies in Eastern europe, including the USSR. Mikhail Gorbachev was assured by Norwegian and Swedish leaders that their countries would assist the Soviet Union and the Baltics (the Scandinavians make a clear distinction between the two) in solving their ecological problems which are becoming problems of the entire north of Europe.

The Swedes and the Norwegians were quite outspoken when they voiced their worries about nuclear safety in the North. Northern regions of the Soviet Union are heavily loaded with nuclear power plants, nuclear reactors on board Soviet combat ships, mines of exhausted uranium and nuclear warheads. While an intensive exchange of information is going on in the civilian sphere, the military aspects of our relations have yet to be settled. The Soviet Union has permitted international experts to visit the Soviet nuclear testing site on Novaya Zemlya this September, but the future of the site itself remains indefinite. Referring to the utterings of some low-level Soviet representatives, the Norwegians insist that nuclear tests and even nuclear blasts carried out to destroy Soviet chemical weapons will continue to rock Novaya Zemplya. To the Norwegians' displeasure such plans do exist, but there is no plan of getting the Soviet nuclear submarine *Komsomolets* from the bottom of the Norwegian Sea where she sank a couple of years ago. The Soviet president and members of his team have not been very successful in dispelling those fears, the more so as the fears are consonant with the sentiments of some segments of the Soviet public.

**Mikhail Gorbachev and Gru Harlem Brundland: a higher level of understanding achieved between Moscow and Oslo** *TASS photo*

## Negotiating in earnest

However, the Soviet delegation managed to calm the fears as to the military intentions of the Soviet Union in the region, the intentions which stipulate a reduction, not a build-up, of forces there. In the context of real Soviet economic and political capabilities, Gorbachev's explanations sounded quite convincing. Norway and Sweden resolutely opposed the deployment of two additional Coast Guard divisions in the northern and Baltic areas of the USSR and referred to the CFE Treaty. On the other hand, the United States and NATO seem to be satisfied with the Soviet explanation now: the transfer of hundreds of tanks, armoured personnel carriers and artillery pieces to the Coast Guard will be compensated for by the corresponding reduction of armaments in the Army inventory.

Since the geography plus the doubtful future of Soviet military bases in the Baltics make the Soviet Union continue to amass a considerable portion of its military potential in the region the Soviet and Norwegian sides once again failed to agree on the division of economic zones of the USSR and Norway in the Barents Sea – the status of 155 thousand square kilometres of sea, the only safe passage for Soviet ships and planes into the Atlantic, remains unsettled. The pessimists believe that it will not be possible to finally solve the sea delimitation issue until the beginning or even the end of the talks on reduction of naval armaments on the seas around Europe.

The unsettled situation around the Baltics is also directly connected with European relations and a formidable obstacle on the way to really good-neighbourly relations between the Soviet Union and North European countries. Sweden and Finland used to recognize the Baltics' joining the Soviet Union, but Denmark and Iceland refused to do so and Norway was caught in an ambiguous position between "yes" and "no." Today all northern countries advocate the Baltic independence, to a different extent, though.

The talks about the Baltics could hardly have been very pleasant for either President Gorbachev, or the leaders of Norway and Sweden, but the problem simply had to be discussed if the remaining misunderstandings were to be removed sometime. Hopefully, today the Kremlin has a clear idea of how the West regards its activities and steps in the Baltics – and the West vastly perceives the situation through the eyes of the Soviet Union's northern neighbours. And the latter can form their impressions about the situation in the Baltics proceeding from the opinions of Vilnius, Riga, Tallinn, and Moscow too. I am sure that the governments of northern countries will be able to assist the Baltic settlement by providing some reasonable advice and encouraging mutual restraint, if of course agree to be guided by realistic assessments, reject their criticism sometimes demagogic of the Kremlin and begin to pay attention at least to the most serious errors of the Baltic leaders.

## In a new role

Some readers may disagree with my logic. "Should we really be so much bothered with those small neutral and NATO states?" some readers may object. "After all they do us no good and wish us no good." The president's recent visit has proved that Gorbachev does not share this wrong opinion, and the rest of the readers should be reminded of what Northern Europe is in today's world. Some 23 million people producing over 2 percent of the world's industrial production and 5 percent of all exports thereof. The northern countries have set up and are busy developing a northern socio-political community which is immune to the changes in the international arena. Highest living standards, advanced democracy, unpolluted environment, minimal militarization, free relations between citizens – these are the main features of the nordic community which has become a noticeable segment in Europe's material and spiritual culture. It may not be an ideal society, but it surely is one of the most just ones in the world.

So far only Denmark is a member of the European Community and the rest of the northern countries are members of the European Free Trade Association and are concluding negotiations on integrating with the EC. Sweden will officially apply for EC membership this July without waiting for the negotiations to conclude. Norway and Finland, whose currencies are already adjusted to the ecu, are badly tempted to follow the Swedish example. Some two to three years of such evolution promise to bring "Nordic values" to the EC, if not to create "a Nordic bloc" therein, and to bring a United Europe closer to Soviet borders. That is why the Soviet Union must do its best to communicate with its northern European neighbours.

United Europe will be playing a growing military and political role on the continent and in the whole world. This process will inevitably affect Soviet interests. The way this evolution will affect the strategic situation in the north of Europe, will be dress rehearsal of changes on the western borders of the USSR: Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Hungary will eventually approach or enter the European Community. There are no hopes left that East European countries will opt to stay neutral. Eastern Europe will join United Europe following the northern countries. Will the Soviet Union ever follow them?

Speaking in Oslo, Mikhail Gorbachev dropped a hint that if "the deal of the century" between the East and the West was frustrated, the Soviet Union would have to seek "some other way." But haven't we been probing for it during the last 74 years?

*Alexander Polyukhov*

STOCKHOLM

## Kenneth Kaunda:

# "I am a very happy, puzzled man"

The President of Zambia received *NT* Editor-in-Chief Alexander Pumpyansky in Lusaka and granted him an interview

He invites the politicians he likes for a game of golf – and usually wins. Other visitors, including journalists, are invited for a breakfast at State House at 7:30 in the morning. Kenneth Kaunda is a vegetarian. His athletic figure is clad in a light suit of an original cut – a cross between Mao Zedong's tunic and the safari costume of a British aristocrat. In his left hand he carries a snow-white handkerchief – the ancient symbol of purity and love for peace. The first prime minister of independent Zambia and its first and only president, the leader of the ruling party, which until very recently has been Zambia's only political party, one of the patriarchs of Africa's liberation struggle, Kenneth David Kaunda, 67, speaks on de Klerk and Gorbachev, on the whims of political struggle, hardships of life and burden of power. He also reflects on capitalism and socialism – as he has said himself, for the first time so sincerely.

**New Times.** I would like to ask you several questions, Comrade President, concerning the situation in the south of Africa and South Africa in particular. Changes of dramatic magnitude are taking place in this region of the world. The events in South Africa are developing rapidly. South African troops have been withdrawn from Angola, Namibia has been decolonized, South Africa has stopped interfering in the internal affairs of Mozambique, and there is a visible desire on the part of the South African leadership to establish relations of partnership with other states. What do you think about the very notion of "frontline states"? Is it not a little bit outdated?

**Kenneth Kaunda.** The first thing I am going to say is "welcome to Zambia!"

**N.T.** Thank you.

**K.K.** Events that are unfolding in South Africa in particular and in the south of Africa as a whole are the result of what I can call as joint efforts of various forces at work. First and foremost, of course, we must speak of the determined efforts of the peoples of South Africa themselves. The black people, the people of Asian origin, the offsprings of blacks and whites, the so-called coloured people and the liberal whites. That is, perhaps, a very central factor – we had the support coming from various corners of the world. In this lineup, we must speak of the OAU, of which the front-line states are only a subcommittee. We must speak about the really determined effort and support of your own country, the Soviet Union, during the time of the armed struggle. No country in the West could support that armed struggle in South Africa, the armed struggle in Namibia, the armed struggle in Mozambique, the armed struggle in Angola and some other countries. At the same time, we will never forget many liberal people in the West, including some governments. Above all, we don't forget the support that has come from other international organizations led by the United Nations itself. So, all these forces have worked together to bring about the situation that we now see in South Africa. Plus the coming onto political scene of de Klerk. He has now become a central figure, a central figure in the whole measure of things.

So, the stage we have reached is, I think, that of consolidating the liberation struggle and perhaps seeing its end. And as we reach the end, frontline states will dissolve themselves because the sole purpose of frontline states was to mobilize masses of our people in this area in general and in South Africa in particular. So there is still a bit more to be done, and I believe that within the next year or so we are simply going to see the end of frontline states as such. This region will be transformed into an area of cooperation in many fields: political, economic, social, cultural, etc. This is how I see it. So, in terms of the being of front-line states, certainly, the end of our existence is very near, happily.

**N.T.** You have noted the personal role of de Klerk. You were one of the first African leaders to meet de Klerk halfway, and you have been criticized for that, if I am not mistaken, by some of your African colleagues. Was it a vision? How did you feel at that time, and how do you feel now in this respect? How do you see the dialogue with South Africa these days?

**K.K.** Well, since you referred to the criticisms, I want to go back a little and give you the background which you probably know. The first real attempt I made to meet South African leaders was in 1974, when I sent a message to the late premier of South Africa, Vorster. At that meeting I achieved a lot, because it led to the release from prisons, long-term detentions, of Comrades

Robert Mugabe, Joshua Nkomo and other comrades. Their release was a direct result of that summit. We did not agree on anything as far as independence of the peoples of South Africa was concerned. We agreed to cooperate to bring peace to Zimbabwe, which was then called South Rhodesia.

I also met the outgoing president Peter Botha, and my message was the same. You were quite right when you said I was criticized by my colleagues. But I have a very clear conscience right through, because I never met a single South African leader in order to get Zambia any benefits. My task has always been fighting apartheid. So between me and my God, I've got a very clear conscience, and I have nothing to worry about.

So, we come to de Klerk. I admit I was too harsh with him when I met him on the bridge across the Victoria Falls. I told him: "I have come to size you up, to find out where you are, whether you are the Joshua we have been waiting for, or just another of these ruler presidents..." He was very calm, very cool, and smilingly he said: "Mr President, I would rather be a Moses than a Joshua." So he made us all smile and relax. After some serious discussion, we held a joint press conference. I said this comment to him at the press conference: "I believe this man is an honest and sincere man, and we should be able to work together to put an end to apartheid."

I remember how I first met Comrade Gorbachev in 1987. At that time Zambia was privileged to chair the OAU for the second time. I had just returned from my meeting with President Reagan. Gorbachev told me we should resolve our problems peacefully. I looked very doubtful, I asked him: "Do you mean the situation in South Africa?" And he said: "Yes." I doubted this very much, but I was wrong, for a change. And he said: "We'll help you to achieve that objective." I was still very doubtful. As you remember, I had been criticized by several African leaders, and I was not quite confident that Gorbachev was right. However, the man was right. He has broken the barriers between the East and the West and removed the fears of the Soviet Union from the minds of Western leaders. It was then that he had built a bridge between the East and the West and that bridge had been used to reorganize the situation in South Africa. The Soviet Union and the United States became partners in presiding over the dissolution of apartheid. That is why we supported the idea that the armed struggle should be stopped.

So, back to the subject. When we talk of the dissolution of apartheid, for example, we have to remember the problems that Africans have created themselves. Apartheid has led to the division of society. The depth of this division is being seen now in the fight between various African communities. This division may prove much more difficult to heal than the division between the blacks and the whites. Those who can bear the responsibility of helping us to create a new situation in South Africa must remember this particular problem – the division among the blacks. This problem must be carefully handled, otherwise it may spread into neighbouring countries. You should look at the division of ethnic groups in South Africa. You will see that some are in Swaziland, some are in Lesotho, some are in Zimbabwe. And this is a cobweb of ethnicism which can spill over into other countries. Those of us who would really like to secure the support of the big powers of the East and the West, must be mindful of this problem.

**South Africa: the forms of struggle have changed, but the struggle goes on** *Photo by Nikolai Reshetnyak*

**N.T.** You have very good relations with the African National Congress. For many years, Lusaka hosted the ANC headquarters. Don't you think that recently the ANC position has been too tough?

**K.K.** Yes and no. Yes – meaning that the ANC is sometimes too tough vis-à-vis President de Klerk. No – if we remember that the ANC is fighting for the liberation of the black masses from centures of slavery. In such a situation it is difficult for you to be balanced.

Imagine that you have almost reached your home, but there is a big gulf between you and that home. You must build a bridge across that gulf. And to do so, you need the support of your own followers, support from the masses of people, but you also need the understanding and appreciation of the whites. The whites are in a very big way divided between the conservatives and progressives led by President de Klerk. The conservatives are very influential in the armed forces. So the ANC cannot afford to be easy-going, and at the same time it cannot afford to be too tough. It is not easy to reach a balanced position. In my opinion, the ANC is doing a tremendous job in a very, very difficult situation.

**N.T.** Comrade President, you have met such African leaders as Buthelezi, Tutu and others. How do you see the problems of national reconciliation in South Africa? What is your formula of compromise?

**K.K.** Do you mean the blacks and the whites? Or the blacks and the blacks?

**N.T.** Both, both sides.

**K.K.** The situation in South Africa has provided several outstanding leaders of this continent and worldwide. We are talking of the many leaders of the African National Congress who are no more with us. We are talking also of Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu. We are talking of Buthelezi, of Archbishop Tutu. And we must really give them a chance to build bridges in this situation. That is why we have welcomed very warmly the meetings that have started between the ANC and Inkatha. We assumed this position a couple of years ago, and now, when Nelson Mandela is free, we continue to urge them not to interrupt their meetings which I think will be fruitful, although we do not always agree with what these leaders say. In my opinion, there can be no other way to the objective than the way of negotiations. The ANC and the Panafrican Congress have signed a joint declaration, which is an additional factor of the policy of building bridges of which I have spoken earlier. So, I think the situation is unfolding that will allow us to find a way out. For us, the formula of the settlement is negotiations and joint efforts against apartheid. This is the only formula that can work here.

**N.T.** Let me ask you, Comrade President, a broader question on the African situation and maybe on certain historical experience, as one of the founding fathers of African independence. Thirty years ago the whole world celebrated Africa Day. Do you think everything has been done right in the past thirty years? If there were a chance to change something in the past, how would you use it?

In the Soviet Union, people often say

that democracy is very good, but the people have not matured enough for it. But if the path is right, this does not mean that it will be smooth. What are the results of the processes that started thirty years ago? Are the results what the founding fathers dreamed of thirty years back?

**K.K.** What I could have changed is something that I could not have changed. I wish I had been able to change the situation which resulted in the division of the continent into colonial territories. The forces of colonialism that we fought against were rooted in the remote times of slave trafficking. The young states that appeared on the continent were so fragile that a slightest change of balance led to interethnic conflicts. Fortunately, our founding fathers were wise, and they warned us that we must not fight about colonial boundaries. We must leave the colonial boundaries sacrosanct for if we tried to change those boundaries, bitter wars would be fought between nations. Where there has been an attempt to alter borders there have been internecine wars.

What else could I have changed? Looking back now, not many things, very little, if any. We were moved in a certain direction by forces beyond our control. We were not on our own even with independence at the height of the struggle between the East and the West. We had to follow either the East or the West. If you followed the East, you were regarded as an enemy of the West and vice versa. This was true even for the nations sincerely committed to the ideas of non-alignment.

As far as the independence movement is concerned, I do not see anything that we could have done better than we have done and are doing now. Take the situation in Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and also South Africa, where Zambia has actively participated. In every situation we called for a government of national unity. Where our colleagues followed our humble suggestions there was comparative peace, and where our colleagues frowned on that, there were civil wars. I am afraid we could not have done anything better than advising our colleagues that national unity was absolutely required.

**N.T.** One more question, this time a question of politics and philosophy. The notion of socialism in our country is being critically examined these days. The critics insist that socialism as a system is more friendly to the rulers than to the ruled, and that unlike capitalism, socialism is unable to be effective. What is your attitude to the notion of socialism?

**K.K.** I think, this is a very cardinal question today in the whole world.

Socialism versus capitalism, this is the usual way of putting this question. I admit it is the first time I speak on this issue, although I have thought much about it recently. Capitalism is a mode of production. It is correct as a method of production. What is incorrect is the way profits are used. I reject the logics when the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. In other words, capitalists have some lessons for us which we will do well to learn. The capitalist mode of production has a scientific basis. As for socialism, it must be judged by the way profits are shared...

**N.T.** Our readers will certainly be honoured to know that your first observation on capitalism and socialism is presented in this interview. Now allow me to ask you a personal question. What is the psychological aspect of staying in power? You have been in power for 27 years already, and undoubtedly this is a very heavy burden. How does it feel to be "the father of the nation" for such a long time? What makes you certain that your mission is to continue?

**K.K.** I firmly believe that man is God's creation. I believe in the value of man the way God created man. My humble opinion is that people should not be divided according to ideological, religious or any other considerations. These categories are servants of man, not masters of man. Even religion cannot dominate man. Religion must be (I am not saying it has become) a golden path to God and His Kingdom. The entire concept of my being in power is serving my God, my Creator, and then, which is almost as important, serving man created by God in His image. My relationship with fellow-men, not only in Zambia, has been one based on what I call the four forces: love, truth, social justice and fair play. This is my contribution to the growth of my beloved country. Hence the philosophy of humanism. I have realized that there can be no humanism without socialism, and no socialism without humanism. I am working hard over this concept. I have therefore seen this leadership as an opportunity to serve God, my Creator. To me, God is really my life. I keep telling my countrymen that if I ever write my memoirs, I'll show how God served us in difficult and complex situations.

I am seeing a thread of community of interests between God and human life, and I want to understand the meaning of God's putting man on Earth and other things around him. I am constantly asking myself: "Who am I here? Where do I come from? What am I doing? What's my role here? I am not finding answers. I am a very happy, puzzled man. Happy because I am sure God lives. Happiness tells me that I am right in trying to understand man not only through the Holy Bible, for which my fellow Christians criticize me, but also in the context of other faiths, other beliefs who look at God as their Creator. I have no right to tell the Moslems, the Hindus, the Confucians and others: "You do not have the right to exist on Earth. Only we Christians have such a right." I cannot tell this to anyone. Who am I to say such things? I have a complicated mind, and a very happy mind.

**N.T.** My last question, Comrade President. Ours are in many respects different countries. However, could you possibly compare the situation in the Soviet Union and in Zambia?

**K.K.** Well, I would say that there is quite a lot in common between our two countries. Both countries are going through tremendous changes. These are happy changes. This is not to say that they will be easy changes at all. I am sure you know how highly we respect and love Gorbachev. To me, he is a great man, a giant of a man. Man East, man West, man South, man North – that's Gorbachev. It is a no easy task to change the situation in a country like the Soviet Union. At the end of our conversation with Gorbachev I told him I would pray for him.

We want the Soviet Union to remain intact, to remain a united state. The world cannot afford disintegration of the USSR. Today, tomorrow, always – the world needs an integral Soviet Union.

As for Zambia, we are now living through a period of painful changes. We have taken a number of very important decisions, and I can proudly state that the UNIP, the party I have the honour of heading, had initiated the reforms. We are in for a referendum (on the introduction of a multiparty system. – **Ed.**). We understand that changes must be resolute, quick and peaceful.

The UNIP is riding a tiger now because of the grave economic problems that flooded our country for reasons beyond our control. The price of oil keeps going up, but we do not produce any oil. This affects the national economy. What can be done? Absolutely nothing. Ten or twelve years ago a ton of copper which we export could buy a tractor, and now we need eight tons of copper to buy a tractor. As for the costs of production, these have not been reduced. As a result, we are getting less and less money for a ton of copper. No miracle can help. We need assistance. And we need something more than assistance, we need greater prices on what we produce.

In conclusion, I would like to say the following. We do have much in common. We are going through upheavals that will bring us to our success. We are carrying out serious economic and political reforms and we ask: pray for us! Together we will succeed!

# There'll be no gold spoon

## While the upper strata argue the lower strata tighten their belts and strike

Pillboxes on the beach. A reminder of the recent past

*Photo from the magazine Panorama (Italy)*

...Above the entrance of a shop in Tirana I saw two posters still hanging after recent elections. One of them called people to vote for the Albanian Party of Labour and the other, for the opposition Democratic Party. Beneath the posters men and woman had queued up to buy bread. It is a typical scene in Albania today: the political struggle and half-empty shelves.

Drastic changes have been brought about recently. One can see now private street venders offering fried cutlets and flat cakes. At the city market one can see food products together with Hong-Kong-made radios of all places and small carpets bearing the image of Christ. People of Tirana now talk with foreigners without running the risk of being squeezed out of their homes after such "communication." That is true. However, the economic situation is not changing radically, and the food supply of the population is not obviously getting better.

The economic troubles give rise to public dissatisfaction which was recently manifested in a general strike. Hundreds of thousands of people stopped work at the call of independent trade unions, which increasingly become an autonomous political force. The government was forced to make concessions and agree to raise wages by 50 percent. However, strikes continue.

The Albanian leadership hoped that it would be able to carry out reforms on a step-by-step basis and thus avoid serious upheavals. Ramiz Alia said that Albania would take into account the negative experience of other socialist countries which began reforms "from the tail, not the head." However, the concept of gradual changes proved untenable. Having felt the taste for changes, the people demand that ever new measures should be taken.

"Street democracy" often leads to riots and clashes with the police in which people get wounded.

Thousands of Albanians are trying in every way to go abroad, mainly to neighbouring Italy, Greece and Yugoslavia. A new problem – mass flight – has appeared. At first, it worried the Albanian authorities, and now it seems to worry more the countries to which people are fleeing.

In the complex economic and political situation a serious confrontation is developing between the authorities and the opposition. The alignment of forces in the parliament is very favourable for the ruling party. The Albanian Party of Labour has an absolute majority (67 percent) of seats in the People's Assembly. However, the ruling party has lost its previous monolithic unity. One can feel a whiff of pluralism in the corridors of offices of its central bodies.

Some leaders think that the party has gone too far in the process of reforms while other believe that the party will be unable to hold power for a long time if it does not reform itself, and its recent election success can therefore become a Pyrrhic victory.

In view of serious divisions in the society and the aggravated economic situation the ruling party called on the opposition to cooperate in a coalition government. The opposition first kept silent and then rejected the offer. By joining the government it would take upon itself a share of responsibility for the future. The refusal of the opposition to cooperate has led to a sharper political confrontation and the growth of tension.

In these circumstances the opposed sides found enough courage to make reciprocal concessions. The parliament adopted a decision on the resignation of the one-party government headed by Fatos Nano and the opposition agreed to form a government coalition. Incidentally, the ministers of a future coalition government will have to suspend their party membership so that they would be able to work in the interests of the nation as a whole, not some political forces. Yula Bufi, minister of the food industry in the previous cabinet, was charged with the formation of a new government. New parliamentary elections are to be held in the near future.

The new government is beginning its work in the difficult time. True, the latest decisions helped to allay public discontent. The wave of strikes is subsiding. Nevertheless, the situation remains tense. Having the present and future difficulties in mind, Ramiz Alia said recently: "We do not promise that the people will eat from gold spoons." In Albania they joke that even a gold spoon will not get into the mouth if there is nothing to put into it.

*Gennady Sysoyev,*
our own correspondent

TIRANA–BELGRADE

# Communism's rolling back

## What kind of left movement will develop in Eastern Europe

*Pavel Kandel,*
Cand. Sc. (Hist.)

Today Hegel is not popular, especially in Eastern Europe. What is real is reasonable, he taught. However, few of those for whom Hegelian philosophy was supposed to be one of the sources of their ideology would use this formula in relation to the 1989 and 1990 events which proved fatal to their parties. Nevertheless, the fate of the communist movement in Eastern Europe is a natural result of the previous development.

### Price of mistrust

The above-mentioned events were not accidental, because they took place almost simultaneously in various countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Within two to three years one and the same process developed in the region from the German Democratic Republic to Albania. Moreover, its main features and even individual elements were common for these countries.

"Real socialism" created by the communist movement replaced capitalism and became its rival. However, socialism did not cope with its task and met with an inglorious end, burying under its wreckage the movement which gave birth to it. Having recognized the historical invalidity of the social system built under their absolute rule, the Communist parties admitted that they are no longer needed either. Compelled to adopt the ideas of a market economy, civil society, a law-governed state and political pluralism, the communist movement has lost its own ideological and political face and any chance for confidence on the part of the people.

The position of the Communist parties was further aggravated by a series of amazingly common mistakes made by them in various countries. One should not be misled either by the present, rather impressive membership of Communist parties or by a substantial percentage of votes gained by the Party of Democratic Socialism in Germany and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and by the election successes of Communist parties in Bulgaria, Romania, Serbia and Montenegro, which, judging by many indications, do not seem to last long. The Communist parties and the parties which have succeeded to them have no serious chances for success in the near future.

The defeat suffered by these parties in spite of their vast material, financial and organizational advantages over their rivals gives grounds to believe that under equal conditions the Communists will prove even less capable of waging political struggle. The setback experienced by Communist reformers and left organizations (of the Neues Forum type in East Germany) indicates that the population has deep mistrust of everything connected with the idea of communism or not too radically opposed to "real socialism." The same is also evident from the isolation of the Communist parties and their successors in the political scene. Even left or centrist parties do not dare reach agreements with Communists or those who are identified with them.

Of course, one can see in the crisis of former Communist parties an earnest of their future revival. With a considerably less membership now, the Communist parties and their successors remain quite comparable with their rivals in the number of members and often surpass them. Besides, parties of the parliamentary type do not have to be mass organizations. The absence of the monopoly on power and on ideological and political activity could stimulate a renewal of the forms and methods of struggle for votes.

### Old-age members

The age, educational, social and professional structure of Communist parties and their Social Democratic successors shows, however, that these potentialities will hardly be used. The increased proportion of old-age membership, the lowering

*Drawing by Jerzy Flisak (Poland)*

of their educational standards, a scanty influx of new members in general and of young people and intellectuals in particular, the breaking of ties with mass organizations of the working people, the prevalence of nostalgic sentiments and interests among "have-beens," the lack of bright political leaders, and the rather low competitiveness of the party press are not only consequences of the past but also a symptom of even deeper changes in society as a whole.

The objective basis which ensured successes of Communist parties in the past – the combination of the mass workers' movement with the socialist idea – has disappeared. The new workers' movement seeks self-expression in independent trade unions created in opposition to the power structures of Communist parties. The socialist ideas or, more exactly, their creative potential have flowed, together with reform-minded intellectuals, first into political organizations transformed in the social democratic spirit and then, as illusions dispelled, into organizations of the liberal democratic type.

This development has also been marked by ideological dramas. The programme of socialist reformism, which had the last historic chance in 1968, became unfeasible towards the late 1980s. Striving for "renewal," the reform-minded Communists could only complete the dismantling of "real socialism" and concede leadership to the forces which are not burdened with the past and express the ideas of a market economy, a law-governed state and political pluralism.

## The pendulum of history

The common reason of the failures of parties which shared the political legacy of Communists was the lack of ideological, political and social identity, the inability to find their own place in the new, pluralist society. True, the levelling and populist sentiments of the lower strata, especially growing as a result of the painful transition to a market economy, remain as before a tempting foothold for left radicalism. However, it has been compromised by its previous record.

The results of elections to higher and local government bodies, the data of sociological opinion polls, and the character of mass actions of working people reveal not only a steady tendency towards a reduction in the grass-roots support of Communist parties or balancing of such a support on a low level. Changes in the political geography – defeats in cities, especially large ones – are also indicative, as well as a reduction of these parties' electorate.

The strength of the electoral base and possible ebbs and flows will be determined by the degree of pressure exerted by the ruling political forces on the activists of the "old regime." It is important to note, however, that other left forces, born in the process of opposition to "real socialism," could not achieve success either.

The setback of Social Democrats is most significant in this respect. They could come to power if society strove for evolutionary changes. However, the traditional mission of Social Democrats – evolutionary reforms with reliance on the state and public ownership – is increasingly disputed now even in Western Europe. In Central and Eastern Europe a similar role proved even more discordant with the sentiments of the people who want quick changes. It is also discordant with the fundamentally new historic task now on the agenda – a drastic privatization and transition to a market economy. All this shows that the traditionally left political forces are sharply diminishing and the pendulum of history is moving in the opposite direction. In other words, the left forces are doomed to a long-term failure, because society is faced with historically right-wing tasks.

There is no rule without exceptions, of course. One can be inspired by the experience of the Spanish and Portuguese Socialists, who brought about a successful transition from the authoritarian past to a European-type society. However, they did not have to revive private ownership, transform the nationalized economy into a market one, stimulate production activity or restore natural social ties.

In an associated society of the future the freedom of the individual can harmoniously combine with the collectivist forms of human activity. However, one should not be deceived by the consonance of the ideas of this society with the ideas which have discredited themselves in the course of the communist experiment. The ideas of collectivist humanism, fed from other sources, will be embodied, if at all, in a historically new time and space. ■

■ The 8th Moscow International Book Fair will be held on the grounds of the USSR Exhibition of Economic Achievements, Moscow, from September 3 to 9 of this year.

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# The mirage of "a third zero option"

## What obstructs the Soviet-American talks on tactical nuclear arms?

**Sergei KORTUNOV,** expert at the Disarmament and Arms Control Department of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, answers questions from *NEW TIMES*

**New Times.** The talks on tactical nuclear arms in Europe are the next point on the Soviet-American agenda. The prospect of these talks was welcomed in the Joint Declaration of 22 states adopted on November 19, 1990 in Paris. At the same time Mikhail Gorbachev declared that the Soviet Union was prepared to start the talks on tactical nukes one to two months after the signing of the CFE Treaty. The CFE Treaty has been signed, but the tactical nuclear arms talks have not yet started...

**Sergei Kortunov.** The United States is not ready and is referring to the continuing Nato coordination of positions for the talks. The reason for this delay, in my opinion, is not solely the very complicated and delicate "negotiating fabric," but also the West's recent doubts as to the sincerity of Soviet intentions to comply with the CFE Treaty. As long as this Western concern is not removed, a speedy beginning of the talks will hardly be possible.

**N.T.** Does this mean that the talks on tactical nuclear arms have lost their topicality?

**S.K.** Until very recently, the United States and its NATO partners resolutely rejected the very idea of such talks and were planning to modernize the air and ground components of tactical nuclear weapons. Now the situation has radically changed. The NATO countries have arrived at the conclusion that in the new military political situation on the continent the role of tactical nuclear arms is reduced and decided to eliminate all nuclear artillery shells after the beginning of the talks, naturally on the basis of Soviet reciprocal measures. At present NATO is actively preparing its negotiating platform. I have no doubt that sooner or later the talks will begin.

**N.T.** As the prospect of the new talks becomes more and more realistic military circles in the Soviet Union and the United States are voicing doubts whether such talks are needed at all.

**S.K.** On the face of it, such doubts seem to be perfectly justified: After all, the reduction of tactical nuclear arms in Europe logically follows from the entire development of the political situation on the continent. The complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Germany will be accompanied by the withdrawal and subsequent reduction of Soviet tactical missile complexes and the elimination of stockpiles of nuclear arms in those countries. Unification of Germany made it politically and militarily senseless to preserve battlefield nuclear arms in the Federal Replublic – nuclear artillery, Lance tactical missiles. The same applies to the deployment of advanced Lance-2 missiles. The range of such missiles (120 to 500 kilometres) make it possible to employ them against any targets situated in East European countries. The elimination of imbalancies and assymetries in the sphere of conventional forces in Europe strips the NATO of the reasonable justification that its tactical nuclear potential is intended to compensate for the Wardsaw Pact conventional preponderance on the continent. Besides, in the new political conditions, the intention to preserve intact tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, to say nothing of any modernization plans, could mean serious political losses for the government of any European country.

At the same time, most European countries seem to be objectively interested in securing the anticipated reductions in the form of an international accord. More, the talks could allow us to conclude an agreement not only on the withbdrawal of tactical nuclear arms from, say Central Europe, but on the elimination of such arms as well. Besides this, the reductions of tactical nuclear arms ought to be carried out under international control.

**N.T.** What is the Soviet interest at the tactical nuclear arms talks?

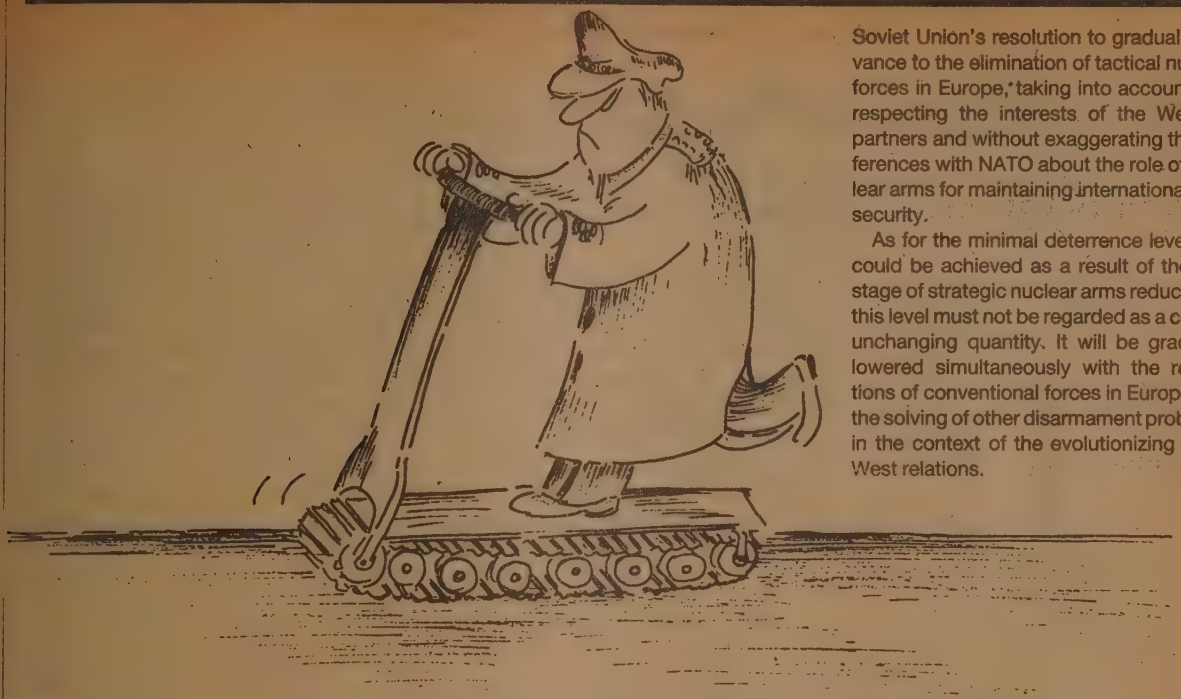
**S.K.** A maximal reduction of nuclear arms would be in the interests of stability on the continent and conducive to creating a new system of common European security. Also, we would like to seal the NATO refusal to deploy Lance-2 missiles in the form of an appropriate treaty. The key element of modernization now is the TASM programme of re-arming NATO combat planes with nuclear and conventional versions of the new SRAM-T missiles having the range of up to 500 kilometres. The Soviet Union would like to see this programme as limited as possible.

**N.T.** Is it possible to expect that the well-known concept of "a third zero option" may return as the talks draw closer?

**S.K.** In the foreseable future most European NATO members are going to continue to reject a zero option on tactical nukes. European NATO members are interested in preserving "the minimal nuclear deterrence potential" which allows them to maintain "the trans-Atlantic link" with the strategic nuclear forces of the United States. In its turn, the United States is interested in preserving in Europe at least a minimal number of tactical nuclear weapons so as to cover the ground forces deployed in Europe. NATO countries want to legitimize the "minimal nuclear deterrence potential in Europe" with the help of the talks. At the upcoming talks the United States will be highly likely to insist on complete elimination of ground components of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, and at the same time on the preservation and even modernization of the weapons carried by combat aircraft.

The return of the earlier Soviet suggestion of an immediate "zero option" for tactical nuclear arms would not be in the interests of the Soviet Union in the current conditions. Let us not forget that under a zero option, the NATO sea-based tactical nuclear weapons would remain outside the framework of the talks.

It would be in the interests of the Soviet Union to insist on a radical reduction of ground- and air-based weapons to such a minimal level which could, at the same time, allow us to preserve the general nuclear balance in Europe. The main element of the strategic nuclear triad which can compensate for tactical nuclear capabi-



*Drawing from the newspaper Zeit*

lities of NATO Navies in the European theatre is aviation. Thus, in this respect the Soviet interests vis-à-vis the subject of the future talks vastly coincide with the interests of NATO. As for ground tactical nuclear weapon systems, including missiles, their capabilites and location make it impossible for them to effectively retaliate against NATO Navies. Moreover, such weapon systems contraidict the Soviet pledge not to be the first to use nuclear arms. In the conditions of real military operations they can only be employed during early stages of the conflict – otherwise they will soon be captured by the enemy, even if the enemy will be using only its conventional forces.

**N.T.** What about the nuclear potentials of third nuclear countries?

**S.K.** Other nuclear powers will be hard to involve in the negotiating process.

France, for instance, regards its short-range nuclear forces not as tactical, but as "substrategic" (forces of the last warning). In this connection and because of the fact that France is not a member of the NATO military structure, France keeps stressing that it has nothing to do with the problem of tactical nuclear arms. The French believe that France will continue to need its "substrategic" forces even after all conventional arms imbalances and assymmetries between the Soviet Union and NATO will have been removed. At the same time a speedy conclusion of a tactical nuclear arms agreement without a French participation may affect the dynamism of France's efforts in this sphere, complicate its modernization of tactical nuclear arms (including the programme of replacement of Pluton missiles by Hades missiles), and eventually may become an incentive for France's joining the negotiations.

With the account taken of all these factors, the initial stage of the tactical nuclear arms talks could be of a bilateral Soviet-American character, as was stipulated in the Paris Declaration of the 22 CSCE members. The other nuclear powers of NATO and, possibly, the countries possessing dual-purpose weapon systems could joint the negotiations on later stages. Naturally, Great Britain and France would have to show restraint in developing their nuclear forces. As for China, its participation in the talks will only be possible at the stage when global decisions are worked out.

**N.T.** Will the concept of minimal nuclear deterrence be discussed at the talks?

**S.K.** By all means. At the Paris meeting President Gorbachev confirmed the Soviet preparedness to discuss the concept of minimal nuclear deterrence on the level of experts. It is necessary to define the concept itself and more particularly, the threshold beyond which the nuclear retaliation potential becomes a potential of aggression. This preparedness reflects the Soviet Union's resolution to gradually advance to the elimination of tactical nuclear forces in Europe, taking into account and respecting the interests of the Western partners and without exaggerating the differences with NATO about the role of nuclear arms for maintaining international security.

As for the minimal deterrence level that could be achieved as a result of the first stage of strategic nuclear arms reductions, this level must not be regarded as a certain unchanging quantity. It will be gradually lowered simultaneously with the reductions of conventional forces in Europe and the solving of other disarmament problems in the context of the evolutionizing East-West relations.

**N.T.** What about sea-based tactical nuclear arms?

**S.K.** It seems that without the reduction of sea-based tactical arms, the efforts along other lines of nuclear disarmament will be devaluated. Broad opportunities will arise for an intensive transfer of military competition to this very direction of the arms race and for attempts to circumvent future disarmament accords. As far as nuclear deterrence is concerned, sea-based tactical nuclear arms are very important for the Soviet Union. Nonetheless we proposed the United States to start separate talks on the gradual reduction and eventual elimination of non-strategic sea-based nuclear weapon systems. During the first stage we could discuss the elimination of all such weapon systems on surface ships.

At the same time, we must cardinally solve the problem of the nuclear versions of long-range sea-based cruise missiles, which ought to be eliminated as well. This step would lead to the establishment of "a minimal deterrence potential" on the seas.

I believe that in future non-strategic nuclear weapons will have to be eliminated. Mutual deterrence can be perfectly guaranteed by strategic forces alone. The possible minimal level of such forces will be defined, in my opinion, by political rather than military considerations.

# The advantages of a free trade zone

**The country's two million citizens, both young and old, seem to be doing business**

Young boys wearing torn vests and 100-dollar sneakers on their bare feet offer you to buy on the cheap almost the whole range of goods sold in a Western supermarket, from refrigerators to condoms, in short, everything they were able to steal.

Of course, serious business is done not in the streets but in the offices of international and national companies and banks. As distinct from other Latin American countries, Panamanian companies and banks try to observe punctuality and rules of behaviour accepted in the international business world.

## A zone for businessmen

Eduardo Cummings, a medium businessman, invited me to make a sightseeing and business trip to a free trade zone. His company deals mainly with American clients. However, Eduardo also willingly took my modest order consisting mostly of the requests of my Soviet colleagues.

What advantages does Cummings get from the free trade zone in Colon? Situated 90 km away from Panama City, it is the second largest free trade zone in the world after Hong Kong. The commodity turnover of the zone was six billion dollars last year. Colon is a huge cluster of wholesale trade shops and a giant trans-shipping point freed from taxes. Goods are delivered to Colon from the whole world and are kept there before shipment to other countries. The businessmen who have their factories or workshops here enjoy all the advantages of a free trade zone.

Eduardo Cummings told me that anyone can start his business in the zone. It is enough to come to it. One needn't even show his trade licence. Under a law the zone is not subordinate to the national customs service. The goods intended for re-export are freed from customs duties.

Taking advantage of Colon's strategic geographic situation, the Panamanian government has created all the necessary conditions for free enterprise. The legislation, copied from similar US rules of conducting business, guarantees a simple and quick handling of affairs. The funds or shares of a corporation are calculated in any currency. Citizens of any country can be shareholders, directors or employees of companies. However, companies employing Panamanians get additional benefits in taxation. The manufacturers of export products are freed from the payment of many taxes and duties. If a company situated in Panama makes its profit outside the country, it does not have to pay an income tax.

For instance, the firm of my Panamanian acquaintance buys goods manufactured in another country (and appraised in its currency) and sells them for dollars in the United States. The profit earned in this way is not taxed. In his turn, an American businessman buys semi-finished items manufactured in a Latin American country, brings them up to the finished form at an enterprise situated in the free zone, and sells finished products in Colon, pocketing the net profit. In doing this he does not violate national legislation in any way.

The Panamanian government has always encouraged foreign investment in the country's economy. Investors need only a licence from the ministry of commerce and industry. They can borrow any amount of currency means within the country and abroad, make the necessary payments abroad and transfer or repatriate the profit received by them.

The entry into the zone and the exit from it are strictly controlled by the police. It is forbidden to take out goods without a document certifying that they have been dispatched abroad. However hard I tried to persuade Cummings to put in his trunk the small things I had bought in the zone, he did not agree. The law is law. I had to pack the small things with the rest of the luggage which was sent to the airport and could be returned to me only when I flew from the country.

## After Noriega

Bankers form the elite of Panama's business world. The international banking centre (IBC) unites 110 foreign and national banks and their 185 branches. Their offices impart an ultra-modern look to the Panamanian capital. Panamanians receive about 200 million dollars in profit a year only from the servicing of banks.

The first foreign bank was set up in Panama before the First World War. A real banking boom was recorded in the 1970s, after the adoption of a law guaranteeing the secrecy of deposits.

In 1987, the parliament adopted an amendment which allows the authorities to freeze the accounts of people suspected of maintaining ties with narcobusiness. After that the trust of international bankers in the IBC diminished. In 1989, the banking world was shocked by the Panamanian government's decision to take the provisional control of the Colombian Banco de Occidente the US branch of which was suspected of "laundering" narcodollars. Meanwhile Panama's strong man, General Noriega, set up a bank which was accused by US media of the same sins. A considerable damage to the IBC's reputation was also caused by an armed aggression of the United States. Bankers want calm and order.

Panama's Vice-President Ford told me that after the ousting of Noriega the trust of the international banking world in his country was gradually restoring. However, in his opinion, this process will take much time. The US stand became an unexpected hindrance in this way. Washington demands the revision of the articles of national banking legislation which guarantee the complete secrecy of deposits. Americans think that the present legislation enables the narcobusiness to use Panamanian banks as before. The Panamanian government seems to be prepared to introduce an amendment obliging an investor to indicate the sources of funds exceeding 10,000 dollars.

## Is "over-vigilance" better?

One can study the geography of the world from the list of foreign companies registered in Panama. However, there is not a single Soviet association there.

View of Panama, a city where businessmen have not yet lost interest in the Soviet market
*Photo from the magazine National Geographic*

Taking advantage of liberal Panamanian legislation, many companies, Cuban or Nicaraguan, for instance, did not especially advertise their participation in the local business. This enabled Cuba to avoid rather successfully the trade sanctions imposed by Washington.

I tried to find out from my Panamanian friends whether the Soviet Union uses, at least anonymously, the favourable conditions for business in that country. It would be impossible to obtain this information from Soviet officials. None of the businessmen with whom I talked knew anything about an independent presence of Soviet entrepreneurs. I learned, however, that a lot of Soviet Lada cars and KamAZ trucks and cameras were sold here through the Panamanian firm Motores Internacionales owned by a former Soviet citizen called Rodin. The firm has long earned millions of dollars in profit by using the Colon free zone for selling products in almost the whole of Latin America. Motores Internacionales is a Panamanian firm, and for this reason only a part of its profit goes to the Soviet partners. If Mr Rodin decides tomorrow that his present business is not quite profitable, Soviet producers will have to look for other dealers.

Perhaps Soviet traders could themselves profit by the favourable conditions provided by the free zone? Every time I asked this question, my attention was drawn to the negative attitude of top Soviet officials to participation in "Panamanian business." Indeed, at the time of "the great thaw" in Soviet-American relations the higher bodies of the USSR were ashamed of any hint at friendship with Noriega. A former leader of the Revolutionary Democratic Party told me confidentially that "in spite of all our efforts, the Soviet Union resisted the establishment of diplomatic relations with Panama." He also intimated that in the last year of the Noriega rule the Panamanian government offered in vain a barter deal to the USSR: bananas, coffee and sugar in exchange for Soviet tractors, electric turbines and other engineering products.

Perhaps the Soviet foreign affairs and foreign trade ministries or the party leadership had solid reasons to decline the offer. However, the country's business interests are impaired every time because of such "over-vigilance." Recently, Moscow has established official relations with the Endara government, which, incidentally, has been recognized by far from all Latin American countries. Perhaps, before hurrying to declare "free zones" in the Soviet Union, we should carefully study Panamanian experience or ourselves plunge into the atmosphere of free enterprise, for Panama has not yet lost interest in the Soviet market.

*Yuri Kudimov,*
our own correspondent

PANAMA–MEXICO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# She was the most powerful woman on Earth

## The widow of Mao Zedong, Jiang Qing, 77, committed suicide in Beijing

**Jiang Qing and Mao Zedong. They were together for 38 years. She was sentenced to death, the sentence being later reduced to life imprisonment. Her husband was rested in a mausoleum**

*Drawing from Der Spiegel (Germany)*

A former actress, the fourth and the last wife of Mao Zedong, member of the Politburo of the Chinese Communist Party and the figure behind the Cultural Revolution, Jiang Qing spent almost thirty years struggling for absolute power over the world's largest nation. It seemed that she was already close to her objective when the death of Mao turned her into a victim of the power struggle she had been participating in for decades.

Shortly before he died, Mao wrote her a letter: "We are going to part and be in different worlds. May peace be with both of us. These words may become my last message to you. Human life is limited, but the revolution knows no limits. In the struggle I have been waging for the last decade I tried to reach the peak of the revolution, but I have failed. You can reach that peak for me. If you fail, you will plunge into a bottomless abyss. Your body will be smashed. Your bones will be broken."

Mao Zendong died on September 9, 1976. The mourning ceremony continued for eight days. The wreath placed by Jiang Qing on Mao's coffin bore an inscription: "from your disciple and comrade." She did not want to become the widow of a great leader, she wanted to become a great leader herself. Jiang Qing believed: "The only way that allows you not to be pawned about is to come to power." Obviously, this belief was shared by the new General Secretary, Hua Guofeng.

Hua Guofeng ordered that Jiang Qing be "expelled from the party for ever" and arrested. The plenum of the CPC Central Committee acted according to the very best tradition of the world Communist movement. Following the example of Soviet Olympians who successfully plotted against Lavrenty Beria twenty five years before the events in China, the Chinese leaders informed the nation that Politburo Member Jiang Qing "was recruited by the Kuomintang intelligence in 1935. Since then she had remained a Kuomintang agent. In 1937 Jiang Qing concealed her descent from a family of land-owners and her counterrevolutionary biography of a traitor and wormed her way into the party."

Securely locked in prison, Jiang Qing could not see the whole China demanding a verdict of death for her, but surely, she could easily picture the events in her mind: all she had to do is to recall the raging crowds from the time of the Cultural Revolution.

During the Cultural Revolution Jiang Qing often attended hongweibing gatherings and shouted to them: "Chairman Mao is sending his regadrs to you!" The crowds responded with cries of joy: "Learn from Comrade Jiang Qing! Let's stand up for Comrade Jiang Qing to the end!". Now the slogans were different: "Cut Jiang Qing to ten thousand little pieces!"

Professor Roxane Witke of the University of New York who spent weeks talking to Jiang Qing in 1971, wrote: "Jiang Qing should be remembered as a person of outstanding courage as one of the leaders of the revolutionary vanguard." Her life, Witke wrote, was a lonely and hard one, without trust and kindness. For several years she suffered from a serious illness. She was sent to Moscow for treatment and diagnosed as having cancer. She received massive radiation therapy which caused her a lot of suffering, but she somehow managed to supress the incurable disease, like Solzhenitsin had done before her. Probably, this is the ability of extremely strong people.

Jiang Qing felt insecure in her relationship with Mao. After he divorced his first wife, an ordinary peasant girl who had been imposed on him by his parents, Mao married an intellectual woman and had three children with her. Then he walked out on her. His third wife, who went insane during the Long March, was first sent to exile in the USSR, then was brought back to China and locked in a mental hospital. Mao eliminated both his heirs apparent: Liu Shooqi and Lin Biao. Could Jiang Qing have felt otherwise living next to Mao?

The desire to secure her position, quite natural for a woman who had married a man twenty years older than herself, was complemented by Jiang Qing's personal qualities observed by a Soviet intelligence officer, Pyotr Vladimirov, planted in the 1940s in the CPC Central Committee under the cover of a TASS correspondent. Vladimirov wrote: "Jiang Qing has a remarkable vision of her purpose. She supresses emotions by reason. She is pityless to herself, and her career is her only concern. She wants to reach her objective while she is still young..."

The Cultural Revolution which boosted Jiang Qing right into the so much desired Politburo office, propelled China back into the past and turned the Chinese young into a mass of spiritual and moral freaks.

Like Lavrenty Beria, Jiang Qing was charged with imaginary crimes, not real ones, because her judges themselves had been involved in crimes against the nation. The Chinese will have yet to wait until the whole truth about the Great Leader's wife and the events that occured in their country after 1949 is revealed.

*Vitaly Shuvalov*

# Fanatics

## Portrait of a kamikaze. Reflections after Rajiv Gandhi's murder

*Marks Tartakovsky*

At an election meeting a girl kissed the guest of honor as she put a traditional wreath of flowers around his neck. At the same instant a terrible explosion roared. Experts who examined the charred remains (the details are too horrible to be cited) agree that the murder weapon was a state-of-the-art plastic charge put around the terrorist's waist in the form of a belt. Rajiv Gandhi became the third leader of India's largest political party, Indian National Congress (INC), to be killed by extremists. The other two were also Gandhis: Mohandas Gandhi, better known as Mahatma, meaning Teacher, and Indira Gandhi, Rajiv's mother...

Who killed Rajiv? The Tamil Tigers? The Sikh separatists? The Kashnir Muslims? No party has claimed responsibility, moreover, all the three were ready to supply a political alibi: in the circumstances, the forceful removal of the premier would be in nobody's interests.

Time will tell whether this is really so. Meanwhile, the whole world is trying to guess who did it and who benefited from it. Despite the seeming spontaneity, terrorism is pragmatic to the point of idiocy.

Let us ask another question: Did the terrorist have any personal interests in getting Rajiv out of the way?

... At the beginning of this millennium mysterious killings rocked the Islamic world for a century and a half. Youths, even boys, armed with nothing but daggers, penetrated the sovereign's bedrooms, killed them during royal hunting or stabbed them right in the middle of feasts before the eyes of high-ranking guests and hefty bodyguards. The latter had no option than to tear to pieces the assailant on the spot in revenge for their own error.

And the assassin rarely tried to resist or escape. Without the absolute contempt for death a dagger could not have been so effective a murder weapon. The assassins who never valued their lives and who counted on the surprise factor, could not be possibly prevented from carrying out their deadly missions. The Abbasid Caliphs, Mustarshid and Rashid were stabbed to death one by one, so were the Iraqi Sultan, Daud, many emirs and vazirs – the cream of the Islamic world. "The land is being rocked with the treacherous daggers!" exclaimed the Seljuk sultan Mohammad who tried in vain to stem the epidemic of terrorism.

Who were the youths who despised death? The Persians and the Arabs called them fidais – those who sacrifice themselves in the name of the idea.

What was that idea that led the killers?

It could be better described by other people, those who never ran any risks. They were based in the impregnable mountain castle of Alamut in northern Iran shrouded in deep mystery. The mysterious rulers of the castle were known as "the elders of the mountain Alamut" and no one knew their faces, especially the fidais who obeyed all their orders. Their very power was founded on mystery.

How did the "elders" manage to acquire so terrible power over the souls of the fidais? The mystery was revealed only in 1256 when the army of the Mongolian khan Khulag stormed and destroyed the castle. Deep inside the castle securely concealed behind the thick walls, there was a small garden which looked like a detailed and colourful Koran description of the Islamic paradise. There were fruit trees and "therein are rivers of water, which corrupt not: rivers of milk whose taste changeth not: and rivers of wine, delicious to those who quafe it."

The young fidai hand-picked for the killing and heavily drugged with hashish (the very word "assassin" derives from hashish) would be brought to the garden. It was easy to convince him that he was in paradise." If necessary, the houris were available too. True to the words of the Koran, they appeared "black-eyed and big-eyed and kept like pearls" and they did not even have to undress before the excited youth – it was enough to uncover a girl's face to send the youth into ecstasy. Convinced that the had been in paradise on an excursion, the youth was ready to do anything to get back there.

The easiest way into a dream was to die "in the name of faith" and the "foes of faith" were invariably enemies of the cynical and crafty elders. Destroying some rulers and intimidating others, they managed to interfere in dynastic strife and thus to expand their own lands. Theocracy was becoming increasingly mightier.

However, the doomed fidai was never the loser. It must have seemed very practical to him to buy eternal pleasure with a fleeting moment of suffering. As he died soaking in a pool of blood, the fidai gave out a blissful smile...

It may seem that we have gone too deep into history. Unfortunately, this is not so. During the Iran-iraq war which we still remember, the young soldiers whom the Khomeinists ordered to march across minefields before tanks, carried small plastic keys to Paradise on their necks. The keys were made in Taiwan – one large firm capitalized on the production of such keys for Iran.

Perhaps this is a specific feature of Islamic mentality? Unfortunately not. During WW2 the Americans were scared by japanese kamikaze pilots and drivers, "human torpedoes" etc. It seemed that after US soldiers invaded Japan, the whole population would have turned into kamikaze – the ritual suicide harakiri was a convincing demonstration.

Characteristically, classic Shintoism, Japan's official religion since the Meiji Revolution, is focused on worldly life. However, the nation intoxicated with militaristic enthusiasm was easy to turn to early Shintoism with its cults of spirits. During the war a lot of temples were built in Japan devoted to fallen soldiers. In the eyes of the believers, the fallen heroes became divine creatures cleansed of all sins by the feet of self-sacrifice – they were having a feast with friends somewhere near the throne of Amaterasu, the chief goddess of the Japanese pantheon and the ancestor of the Imperial Dynasty.

It must be added that any religion is based on the concept of after-death reward. In Hinduism, the main religion of India, the after-death transformation is known as sansara – by committing a feat anyone can be regenerated into a god or a goddess. By the way, the Russian word "rai" meaning "paradise" derives from an ancient Hindu word for "gift."

The question of self-sacrifice and reward for it cannot be covered in such a short piece of journalism. But when one hears that "Soviet young people are politically passive" and sees on TV South Korean students fighting the shielded and helmeted police with their bare fists, and deciding in their comfortable campuses who would be the next to sacrifice himself (all the way to self-immolation) – the whole thing looks like a macabre parody compared with the total silence in the north of Korea – one cannot resist thinking whether the cold-blooded atheism predominant in this country is altogether as bad as it is painted. When one sees authoritative democratic leaders, loyal Communists only yesterday, sheepishly carrying candles during an Easter procession, one cannot resist thinking whether they realize what they are doing...

DISCUSSION FORUM

# Ukrainians: a phantom nation?

**Reflections on the origin, similarity and differences of two peoples**

*Mikhail Litov*

The situation in the Ukraine (which until recently was invariably referred to as Russia's free and prosperous "little sister") is now far from quiet. In Lvov, they removed a monument to Lenin. Uniate Catholics are taking churches from Orthodox Christians. In Kiev, religious fanatics didn't let Patriarch Alexii enter the Cathedral of St.Sophia, calling him, in the heat of a street polemics, "murderer" and claiming that the cathedral is a sanctuary and sacred place of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church. Noisy demonstrations for independence now happen even in traditionally cosmopolitic cities. Some demonstrators don Cossack traditional attire, promoting by means of the masquerade the idea of restoration of the former free status of Zaporozhye Cossacks. Other and more prudent nationalists avoid ostentatious behaviour. They have balanced attitude and prefer discourses about the past, present and future of the people of the Ukraine. The third category – numerous russified Ukrainians and locally resident Russians – query themselves: why should the Ukraine want independence now, if she never really had it before?

The Ukraine's government and parliament (which is anything but meek and submissive) announced their readiness to sign a Union Treaty and at the same time frightened the USSR central authorities by a promise to introduce the Ukraine's own currency: the grivna (perhaps inspired by discovery of natural gold deposits in the Ukraine, potentially ensuring her a place among the world's largest gold producers).

What is actually happening in the Ukraine? We are confronted with the Ukrainians' desire to realize themselves as a nation and to create own national state. And that is their own vision of things. But from Moscow's point of view (if we ignore certain Muscovites' superficial and leisurly discourse about novel trends in the treatment of the national awareness issue) what we have here is downright separatism. We take it differently than Lithuanians' separatist tendency, since Lithuanians are more alien to us, while Ukrainians are very much like ourselves. We Russians even tend to regard them merely as a "branch" of a ramified Russian nation. When

**A meeting in Kiev's Bogdan Khmelnitsky Square. Rukh demands full independence for the Ukraine. The USSR is once again called the "evil empire," this time at home...**

in the Ukraine, the benevolent and magnanimous Muscovite is amused by and jeers at local "patois" and is puzzled to see precious artifacts scattered among local museums rather than exhibited at the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad, or the Tretyakov Art Gallery in Moscow.

## Ukrainians' national identity

We can blame the described attitude of an unsophisticated casual Russian tourist on his or her general ignorance. However similar attitudes in certain finely-educated Russian historians and philosophers are alarming. Vitaly Shulgin, founder of *the Kievlyanin* (the Kievite) newspaper in the 1860s claimed, in the newspaper's opening issue, that the "the South-West is a Russian, Russian, Russian territory." This tripple statement of his creed wasn't universally shared, however. Nationalism-tinged ferment started in the Ukraine right after the 1917 February Revolution in Russia. The unrest eventually resulted in establishing of the Ukrainian People's Republic which got entangled in a war against Bolshevik (and also non-Bolshevik) Russia.

Russian proprietary classes who had suffered a defeat, and the intelligentsia fled south into the Ukraine. Kiev became a seat of numerous unions, parties, and groups whose members were dreaming about restoration of Russia's integrity and were sneering at the idea of the Ukraine's sovereignty which they regarded as a product of a few idle minds. In the eyes of Russian refugees, the renaissance of Ukrainians' national awareness was more like a masquerade led by some characters claiming to be expressing aspirations of a actually inexistent nation. But, contrary to that opinion, it was least of all a masquerade but a movement led by such liberally educated and widely renouned personalities as historian Mikhail Grushevsky and writer Vladimir Vinichenko.

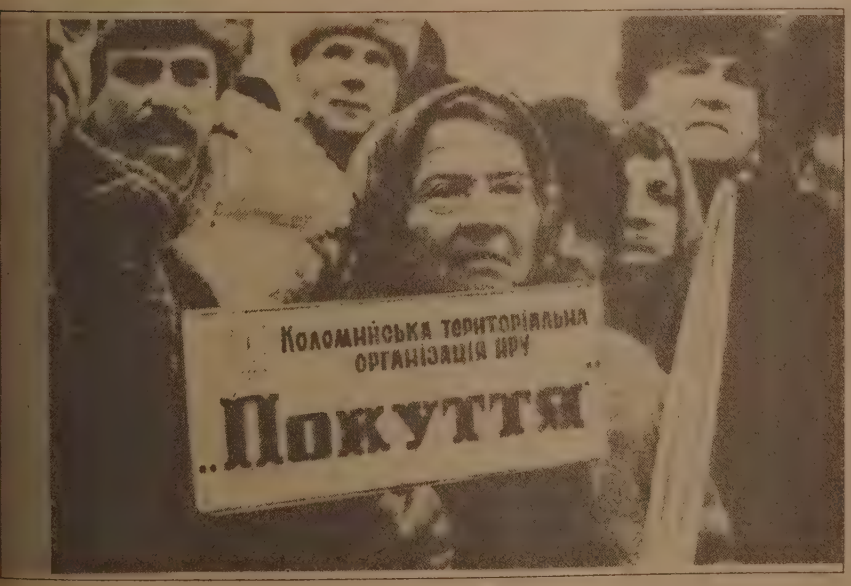
The Ukrainian People's Republic was crushed, yielding to pressure put to bear on it from the Bolsheviks, the White Army, and the Anglo-French Entente troops, to boot, each from its quarter. Later, this short-lived almost independent but nevertheless somewhat comical sovereign Ukrainian state (the time of the existence of which was, according to Vinichenko, characterized by Ukrainian national renaissance) was largely ignored both by the official Soviet historiography and Russian emigree historians. Pitirim Sorokin, acclaimed as one of the best sociologists among Russian emigress, wrote: "The Russian nation consists of three main branches: Great Russians proper, Ukrainians, and White Russians (Byelorussians)." Another and equally respected scholar, philosopher Georgi Fedotov justly regarded Russian culture as the only culture of global significance among the multitude of cultures existing on the territory of the USSR. He wrote: "We are facing a task which can be formulated as follows: we must not only ensure that the Ukraine remain integral part of Greater Russia but also that the Ukrainian culture should be blended into Russian culture. We are witnessing a turbulent and precarious development – rise of Ukrainian national awareness and, in effect, emergence of a new nation. It hasn't been born yet, and its future is still uncertain. It cannot be eliminated. Yet it is possible to channel the development of Ukrainian national identity into the mould of a specific form of Russian national identity. The South-Russian (Little-Russian, or Ukrainian) tribe founded the first Russian state and gave birth to Russian culture. That tribe identified themselves as Russians until the late 19th century. Their future will largely depend on whether we, Great Russians, choose to recognize their closeness to us or to reject them as aliens. In the latter eventuality we are inevitably going to lose them."

From the point of view of Russians, the Ukrainian nation as such is inexistent. What we deal with is only a bunch of intellectuals day-dreaming about such a nation and imagining themselves as its representatives, or even a few funny characters donning curious vestments which they believe, due to some folly, to be Ukrainian national attire. To continue this line of reasoning, the Ukrainian language is merely a dialect of Russian, and the Ukrainian culture is no more than a weird variation of the Russian culture and, correspondingly, less significant.

## Khmelnitsky was misunderstood

However, Ukrainians who manage to hold out against the onslaught of Russification are of a different opinion. Russia and the Ukraine reunited in 1654, and historians, particularly in the Soviet time, tended to represent this reunion as a development craved for by both parties for a long time before it happened. In actual reality, Hetman of the Ukraine Bogdan Khmelnitsky, hero of the war which liberated the Ukraine from Poland's domination and united the Ukraine with Russia, was only after getting an ally in the Ukraine's bloody struggle for independence. True, common religious creed was an important factor determining Ukrainians' option for rallying with Moscow. But unanimous elation form the prospect of becoming subjects of Moscow's tsar is a gross overstatement of fact.

A nation which practically at every moment of its history had been at war with foreign invadors couldn't be expected to be eager to open its arms to another nation. Important factor in the life of the Ukraine, Zaporozhye Cossacks – a separate entity within the Ukrainian nation, who completely devoted themselves to fighting Poles and Crimean Tatars interchangeably, who were also pursuing a concrete aim: national Ukrainian liberation, and who never missed an opportunity to raid and plunder places in Bessarabia and even in Russia – approved of Khmelnitsky's inten-



tion to seek help with Moscow. Nevertheless, Cossacks tried to avoid swearing allegiance to the Russian tsar, and it took Russians an arduous effort to talk them around. The Ukraine's historian, Dmitry Evarnitsky, cited, in his three-volume *History of Zaporazhye Cossacks*, the Cossacks' letter of response to Bogdan Khmelnitsky's request of confirmation of their readiness to serve under the Russian tsar. They wrote, in part: "We don't advise you to build on friendship with Poles. On the other hand, we endorse, as deserving our attention, your idea to seek the protection from his Imperial and Serene Majesty the Tzar of Russia for the whole of the Ukrainian nation living on both sides of the Dnieper. We advise you to carry out the plan unhesitatingly, for the benefit of the Ukraine and the land of Zaporozhye warriors. When negotiating agreements, your excellency, make sure that they don't contain anything which can be harmful for our land or detrimental to our ancient rights and liberties."

Zaporozhye Cossacks couldn't imagine that their land would later be regarded as Moscow's rightful domain and they themselves, as a nomadic tribe remaining, due to a freak of historical process, for too long in the Dnieper River basin, rather than a nation in their own right. But let us see farther in the past history.

## Herodotus' testimony: creditable?

None of the renounced Russian historians even hinted at the existence of some other connection between Kievan Rus and the contemporary Ukraine, apart from the fact that the Russian nations, including Ukrainians, root in Kievan Rus. But Mikhail Grushevsky, head of a humble and almost illegal Ukrainian historical school, ventured to assert that tribes which populated Kievan Rus were vastly different from the tribes which lived to the north of them and who later formed Muscovy Rus. They were Ukrainian tribes from the start and couldn't just turn into Great Russians and Byelorussians. In his *History of the Ukrainian Nation* Grushevsky wrote: "The Ukrainian ethnic type is different from its closely-related types of Great Russians and Byelorussians anthropologically (in physical forms of the cranium, body height and proportions) and psychophysically (in national character, pattern of behavior and relations within the family and society). In terms of folklore study, ethnography, as well as private and social existence, the Ukrainian nation has numerous distinctive features with deep roots in the past... Linguistically and psychophysically, distinctions between Ukrainians, Byelorussians and Great Russians transcend the boundaries of man-made history. After leaving their common primordial home, these tribal groups (which were different already at that time) found themselves in different physical, economic, and cultural conditions and varying ethnic environment. Thus, the Great Russian ethnic entity was formed under the Finnish influence; Byelorussians developed in close contact with Lithuanians; and Ukrainians, in eternal neighbourhood of Turkic tribes."

Perhaps, the question about the roots, the common and the different among the three nations which were regarded either as one or as poles apart, cannot be solved. We don't have solid facts concerning the ancient history of these nations, but only vague repercussions of facts, reflected in literary fiction, including – at the place of honour – the testimony by Father of History, Herodotus who wrote about Scythian land populated by one-eyed people guarding their gold.

We traditionally tend to acknowledge Ukrainians' nationhood only on condition that they agree to be regarded as a branch of the Russian nation.

But we would take it as very strange if North Americans – at the height of their economic and military power – should begin to think about the British, the nation of their origin, as of a ridiculous detachment from the body of the American nation. The British also don't hurry to claim that Americans are their "prodigal sons." However, we, Russians, laugh at the Ukrainians' claims to their own history. But in order to have a history of their own, Ukrainians have to determine the boundaary of their independence and also bereave us of part of our national history (which we consider as inalienable from us), namely, the Kievan Rus (which was situated on the territory populated by people identifying themselves as Ukrainians).

Today, Russians national awareness is not particularly strong. For centuries, it was maintained by mentality of the "gatherers of Russian lands." This mentality inspired people for struggle against foreign invadors and also excused seizure of foreign lands by us. The ideas of Moscow becoming the Third Rome and worldwide expansion of Orthodox faith developed Russian culture to the magnitude of global importance, but such ideas would have never emerged had the Russian nation not spilt over the border of Rus and seized vast territories subjugating many other nations in the process. Cultures of those nations had to coexist with the great Russian culture, conscious of their own relative insignificance and sometimes yielding their own intellectual resources to the Russian culture. Had the reality been different, we would perhaps have no Dostoyevsky with his eucumenical ideas, epicist Leo Tolstoy, and Gogol, great Russian writer. We haven't had titanical figures in Russian culture since we as a nation which had gathered many other nations around itself and had used the potential of these nations – sometimes to our own good, and sometimes to the detriment of ourselves and others – were forced into an artificial Soviet body and announced that to be Russians is no great desert.

## A phantom nation?

The cruel experience of the perestroika times shows that the national spirit is at the highest where centuries-old dogmas and delusions get shed, while attempts to restore such dogmas to life lead directly to rabid chauvinism. A question pops up: what part of national awareness, national consciousness of Russians is to be shed? Must it be mentality of "gatherers of Russian lands," or understanding of ourselves as a factor rallying a multitude of lesser nations, or great-power illusions of Dostoyevsky, or mild arrogance of Tolstoy and his followers? But what will be left, if all that has become part of our fleshand blood and other ideas hasn't found response in a Russian heart?

Ukrainians aspire to become a real nation universally acknowledged as such. This is their right which cannot be challenged. Otherwise it would be immoral. But if Ukrainians, as well as other nations in a more or less similar position, have their way, wouldn't it reduce the Russian nation to a condition of a phantom nation? I don't mean only territorial losses here. It will be a terrible moral blow to the Russians' traditions, customs, culture, and national consciousness in general.

We would like to believe in the eventual concord and prevailing of reason, which would avert a tragedy. But a political agreement can only temporarily remove tensions and never cut the knot of insolvable moral, historical, cultural and other problems which confront Russian and the Ukraine in hidden hostile attitudes. Ukrainians remember the lessons taught them by history and know that they can have no guarantee against turning of a most advantageous treaty signed today into an instrument of another wave of russification benevolent coercion tomorrow. But if their aims are clear, then our fate is not. Already now the claims of our "little brothers and sisters" are hurting us. But regardless of how the events develop, we must learn to think in a new way and realize that the world of ideas to which our vast human responsiveness always attracted us is in fact a more versatile and wider place than we used to think, and that plurality of ideas develop flexibility of national mentality best than any other means.

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# Guns for sale?

Article 218 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation stipulates up to five years in prison for illegal bearing, keeping, acquisition, manufacturing and selling of arms, munitions and explosives. However, if you have decided to bear something more substantial than a police whistle for self-defence, because you live in an unsafe neighbourhood (or are in the habit of coming home late, or have started a private venture and are now scared of racketeers, or have bought a VCR and have not had a chance to install an armoured door in your flat), you can go to almost any flea-market of the country where you will see an arsenal for sale — and the vendors would not seem to be particularly concerned about the Criminal Code. Tear-gas sprays retail at 200 to 400 rubles (they are not formally prohibited, but the police usually confiscate them), Makarov semi-automatic pistols, at 2,800 to 3,500, Kalashnikov assault rifles, at 25,000 and heavy machine guns at 45,000 to 60,000. Not all people are bold enough to acquire such merchandise, though. Ordinary people are swelling the lines to police stations in order to get their flats integrated in the police electronic neighbourhood watch systems. The prices of watch-dogs are soaring. People are trying hard to protect their flats with armoured doors, sophisticated locks, alarm chains and other kinds of security gadgetry.

Society is facing the question: could arms be made generally availabe? Could the arms trade be permitted?

"By no means!" the opponents say. "There's so little culture that people will start shooting each other in lines. Besides, criminals will become regular clients of the arms shops."

The proponents of free arms trade object: "If the police cannot protect us, we are going to protect ourselves. And the criminals are getting arms no matter whether there are any arms shops or not."

The same pros and cons are being voiced in the West. In the United States, for instance, the debate about the arms trade has been going on for two centuries already...

Soviets are arming. Tear gas or a handgun in one's pocket seem more reliable means of protection than cries for help in the dark of the night. However, such forms of self-defence remain illegal in this country

## Free men and women shall have the right to own a gun...

*Konstantin Shukhnov*

As they explored the expanses of the Wild West, American pioneers never put aside Colts and Winchesters. Many Americans believe that the right to bear arms has been instrumental in making the United States a superpower. The smoothbore barrel and the revolver cylinder have become symbols of American lifestyle alongside chewing gum and Coca-Cola.

The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States says: "A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."

More than 200 years have elapsed since this amendment came into force, but the debate

An arms shop in the US. An example to follow?

around the free and unrestricted selling of arms has been going on ever since.

The opponents of private possession of arms argue that by using the word "militia," the legislators had sanctioned only the collective right to bear arms. According to this logic, since no militia exists today, the right to bear arms belongs only to the police, armed forces and National Guard.

At least 70 million Americans who keep firearms in their homes stick to a different viewpoint. In their turn, they refer to the words of Richard Henry Lee, one of the Founding Fathers of the USA: "A militia, when properly formed, are in fact the people themselves... and include all men capable of bearing arms."

The constitutional right is backed up with necessity: life in the United States is becoming more and more dangerous. The image of a burglar with a crow-bar in his hands has long been consigned to the past. American policemen are observing the growing tendency among criminals to carry guns and to use those guns if the victims resist or if there is a real threat of arrest.

If in the 1950s and 1960s firearms were mostly kept in private possession for hunting, sports or as collection items, in the 1980s – 1990s over 50 percent of Americans were buying arms for the purpose of self-defence. The results of polls conducted in American prisons confirm this viewpoint.

In three years sociologists James Wright and Peter Rossi polled about two thousand convicts and revealed the following.

56 percent of the criminals admitted they would not have assailed their victims, had they known about the victims' being armed. 57 percent believed an encounter with an armed victim was much more dangerous than the victim's immediate turning to the police. Three out of four burglars feared to break in houses when the owners were at home – for fear of getting shot.

It is no problem to purchase firearms in America. In Northern states, you would have to wait for several weeks and in New York, for 30 days, until the arms dealer has contacted the police and had your identity and reliability confirmed. In the South – Florida, Texas or Virginia, it is enough to show your driver's licence to buy a whole arsenal. The validity of the documents is never checked and forging a driver's licence poses no problem for the professionals. Another way out is to rent a driver's licence from local people who often engage in petty rent-a-licence business. Some southerners prefer to do independent business on the arms market: they would buy a Magnum for $250 in the south and would then sell it for three times as much to a New Yorker.

## Brady Bill

'Arms kept at home may be quite dangerous. The number of accidents, suicides and murders during quarrels committed simply because there was a gun around is growing in the United States.

In 1984 – 1985 alone the number of Americans who met death by firearms exceeded the number of American losses in the eight-year Vietnam war.

Each new attempt on a political figure or a terrorist attack against ordinary Americans touch off a wave of indignation in the US. The shots fired in March 1981 by maniac John Hinckley which lightly injured President Reagan and maimed Reagan's press secretary, James Brady, for life, touched off a wave of protests against the unrestricted selling of firearms. While the president and his press aide were convalescing at hospital, Brady's wife set off for a propaganda tour across the country. The press was vastly on her side. Six years later, in 1987, the problem of toughening the arms trade was first submitted to congressional hearings. The Brady Bill stipulated a uniform one-week checking procedure for all states mandatory for the people willing to purchase arms.

On January 17, 1989, America shuddered as it heard the news about a terrible crime. Patrick Purdy, 26 and unemployed, opened fire from his Kalashnikov assault rifle on children in a schoolyard in Stockton near Los Angeles. Having killed five children and left 29 children and one teacher wounded, Patrick shot himself. On the day after people started queueing up outside the arms shops – the terrified population wanted to protect itself from terrorist attacks. A discussion started about the ban on the selling of semi-automatic weapons.

Since the 1934 federal law made it impossible for private persons to purchase submachine guns like the Soviet-made Kalashnikov AK-47, semi-automatic rifles have become the most popular murder weapon of criminals, terrorists and maniacs. There are about 1,000,000 such rifles in private possession, Especially popular is the Chinese-made semi-automatic version of the Soviet Kalashnikov. Another widespread weapon is the Remington 7400 hunting rifle: its characteristics are close to those of the Kalashnikov, but it is more portable and shoots shorter bursts.

A Gallup poll conducted for *Newsweek* immediately after the Stockton tragedy revealed that 72 percent of Americans advocated a ban on the selling of such weapons. The opinion of ordinary Americans was supported by some influential organizations, such as the Coalition to Stop Gun Violence, gun-control activists, many police and lawyers' associations. In 1989 the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms of the United States declared a temporary embargo on the imports of combat firearms affecting manufacturers of the Israeli UZI automatic

and the Chinese AKS semiautomatic guns.

## Both Bush and Reagan

However, the National Rifle Association (NRA) – the most active defender of the rights of arms owners in the United States – sounded the alarm. 3 million NRA members are not going to give up their rifles. "Look out! Hunting rifles will be the next" the NRA warned and provided some weighty arguments in its favour. According to the findings of a special commission set up in the State of Florida only 0.1 percent of the firearms used by criminals in 1986-1989 in Florida where drug wars never cease, were semi-automatic arms. According to the FBI statistics only 12 out of the 800 police officers killed in the past decade were killed by semi-automatic arms. NRA members believe that the roots of violence must be eliminated and the police must be catching criminal better, rather than restricting arms sales. "Guns don't kill, people do," they say.

The lovers of Sunday sports shooting, collectors and hunters suggest that a compromise solution be sought. The laws, they insist, must take into account the rights and opinions of both advocates and opponents of firearms.

The Brady Bill has never been passed. One of the reasons is that it did not concern the main sources by way of which criminals acquire weapons: thefts and the black market. The debate about the amendment is becoming more and more heated. Meanwhile, arms are crossing state borders freely getting into the hands of drug dealers, street bandits and maniacs.

The advocates of a ban on the free selling of firearms can hardly count on support by the Bush Administration. As is known, President Bush is a life member of the National Rifle Association. Although he had contented to the temporary embargo on the imports of foreign-made guns, his stance on the matter was clearly expressed in one of his speeches in which he asserted that "free men and women have the right to own a gun to protect their home." By the way, the former president of the US, Ronald Reagan, opposed any limitations on the arms trade despite the aborted attempt on his life...

WASHINGTON–MOSCOW

# It's not easy to kill with a fork

Prof. *Alexander Naumov*, LLD

Suppose I have illegally purchased a handgun feeling I could not count on the police for protection. Once the gun came in handy: a group of young thugs attacked me and started beating me up demanding money. I used the gun and shot dead two assailants. From the point of view of the law my action is regarded as necessary self-defence. I would be cleared of the charges of **manslaughter** on the grounds of necessary self-defence, but I would be convicted for the felony of **having kept** and **borne arms** – no matter whether the murder weapon were a knife or a gun. Under Article 218 of the Criminal Code of Russia I would be in for up to five years in a camp.

The question of allowing free selling of arms to citizens is even more complicated and controversial. For example, the number of rapings is growing as steadily as that of murders. Well, so let's give arms to young and pretty girls so that they could take care of themselves. Imagine the following situation: late at night a girl is going home and there are no policemen for miles around. In the pitch-dark hallway she runs into a group of thugs. But she's got a gun. Bang! – the evil is punished and the girl is safe.

Isn't it nice? However, anyone who has at least once handled a Soviet-made Makarov handgun would grin at it: the girl will simply be unable to pull the trigger, they will rape her all right, and the gun they will take away from her will be used in more crimes.

About a half of all murders and manslaughters happen when people booze and quarrel and fight. However, each second victim survives the fight and the crime in this case is defined as attempted murder. Why is this so? The reason is simple: it is not easy to kill a person with a fork, a table knife, a stool, a bottle or whatever may be there on the table. The selling of guns will highly aggravate the situation.

It must also be remembered that a lot of weapons are already in circulation. It is very difficult, if possible at all, to provide any approximate evaluation of the number of illicitly kept weapons. The angry president used his extraordinary powers and decreed that all weapons be surrendered in fifteen days. However, the decree just failed to be honoured in much more days. Personally, I am against the selling of firearms, but I think the selling of tear gas can be allowed, though some complications seem inavoidable in this connection.

# "Giving weapons to Soviets is like giving matches to a child"

*Eduard Kalachev*,
Major General,
Head of the Public Order Department, Interior Ministry of the USSR

In the context of political instability and a constantly deteriorating criminal situation the opportunity to buy arms in arms shops will do nothing but a lot of harm. In the current situation what we need is tougher laws.

In 1990 the number of crimes committed with the use of firearms grew by one third. The arsenal of the criminal world is now plentiful and varied. The black market arms trade is booming. Black market dealers get arms mostly because of the lack of proper control on the part of the authorities. In January – April of this year there were 135 thefts of firearms and the total number of the arms stolen amounted to 525 pieces. Arms are usually stolen

from local branches of the All-Union Voluntary Society for Cooperation with the Army, Air Force and Navy, military training rooms at schools, military garrisons and service premises used by the VOKhR paramilitary guards. 12,640 rifled barrels are currently wanted by the police.

There is no proper control over the keeping of weapons in private possession. The service which in principle is supposed to exercise this control has only 1,640 staff workers for all the Soviet Union. Most city and district police departments do not have such staff workers. Very often the control over weapons in private possession is exercised by workers of other police branches on a part-time basis. There are no schools for training such workers. At the same time, the number of officially registered hunting rifles in private possession amounts to about four million. There is no centralized system to keep the record of smoothbore weapons. Such records have been kept only at district police departments and only since 1975.

*Drawing by Hardi Volmer*

Experts from the Interior Ministry of the USSR believe a law must be adopted as soon as possible which would regulate the numerous problems connected with the keeping, acquisition and use of arms. The draft law is already being worked upon. It will stipulate tougher criminal liability for violation of the rules of the use of firearms. It is necessary to expand the Criminal Code articles which now speak only of the illegal keeping of rifled arms. Smoothbore arms must be included in those articles too. It is planned to reduce the number of arms kept by civil organizations and the VOKhR.

No free selling of arms may be permitted. We have not yet matured to the cultural level when the state trusts people and people live up to the state's trust. Giving firearms to general public, even for the purposes of self-defence is as dangerous as giving matches to a child: you look the other way and the house may go up in flames in no time.

Tear-gas sprays or pistols are a different thing. They can be effective as a means of self-defence and are no more dangerous than the easily available knives or brass-knuckles. The draft law is going to settle the question of private possession of tear-gas sprays and pistols. According to the Interior Ministry reports the percentage of crimes committed with the use of tear gas is minimal. Tear gas is necessary as a means of self-defence. However, the policy-makers are divided over the issue. Some Interior Ministry experts believe that by allowing the selling of tear gas to private possession the law enforcing bodies will thus shift the state responsibility for safety of citizens to the shoulders of the citizens themselves. It is evident, however, that the police performance leaves much to be desired. Perhaps, the use of tear gas for the purposes of self-defence should be legally sanctioned? However, even if adopted, such a law will not solve all problems. Who is going to produce tear gas? At present, tear-gas production is the monopoly of the defence department. What kind of gas and in what concentration can be used? Will the import of foreign-made tear-gas sprays and pistols be allowed? Who is going to determine to what extent foreign brands of tear gas correspond to the Soviet standards? What will be the responsibility for the use of tear gas for criminal purposes?

So far, the drastic price hikes and the steadily declining living standards will continue to aggravate the criminal situation. The prices on tear-gas sprays and pistols are going to soar. But will the demand for them drop?

# No shooting in the yards, please

Before the revolution private possession of arms was widespread in Russia. In 1913 the arms shop belonging to E.Bernhard & Co. and situated on the fashionable Kuznetsky Most street in Moscow offered an array of rifles manufactured by British, Belgian, German and French arms-makers. It also offered American Winchester rifles, hunting rifles manufactured by famous arms-makers from the Russian city of Tula, automatic rifles, Brownings, Mauzers, Parabellums and duel handguns. Handguns retailed at 12 – 15 rubles, rifles, at 100 – 250 rubles (at that time the average monthly pay of a servant was 10 rubles, and of a skilled industrial worker – 50 – 100 rubles). Those willing to purchase or sell arms needed a special permit from the police. However, cheap Tula and Izhevsk hunting rifles were easily available at any big fair.

The Punishments Code of 1912 did not formally prohibit the bearing of arms, provided the bearer was not after "purposes that may affect state security and public order." However, two articles of the Punishments Code stipulated criminal liability for manufacturing arms and explosives. Depending on the amount of produce, the guilty party could be in for either a 2-4-month term in prison or a 8-16-month term in fortress.

At the same time, local legal acts were in effect in various regions and provinces of the Russian Empire. For example, in 1900 the Ataman of the Don Cossacs issued the Compulsory Decree for Rostov and Nakhichevan prohibiting "shooting in the streets, squares and yards..."

Introduced by
*New Times* analyst
***Rostislav Zolotaryov***

Stormy were the 1960s in the West – the rebelling youth, student rallies, iconoclastic intellectual adventures of the New Left. The latter looked for the new prophets – and found them. Marching with the names of Che Guevara and Mao and Fanon on their lips. Apostles from the radical wing of political thought – most of them affiliated with Frankfurt school of social science – provided the movement with new energetic ideas and intellectual aura. To say the truth, in some way they reflected some real aspects of present sociocultural crisis of the time. But at the same time they waked up old ghosts – Marx, Hegel, Lenin...

The intellectual challenge of the new left decade echoed in the East in a very peculiar way. The political impulse culminated at the end of the decade in Czechoslovakia. The rebellion there – and elsewhere in the East – failed. But the intellectual impulse remained. This was conditioned both by a search for a social theory which should explain the totalitarian experience and in some countries by a continuation of former tradition of social thought and with relatively broadening contacts with that in the West.

Well, one could say that Marxian ideas – especially those of his early writings – were then rather popular. But the commitment to those could be explained by – firstly – the search for a "grand theory" present then also in the West where new left interpretations were so tempting. Secondly, and more important, the commitment to Marxian ideas in the East was more of linguistic nature than a matter of substance. Socialist and other leftist formulations seemed to be more adequate to deal with social reality shaped under socialist slogans. So in East European countries the social theory of the 1960s was in-between the modern social and political classics and more recent ideological inroads of Marxism. This "in-between" situation sometimes influenced even most dogmatic patterns of thought, making them more flexible and respectable.

But there was much of real intellectual work done. Especially in the countries with the theoretical and scientific tradition and where the ideological oppression seemed not to be very strong.

So was the situation in Poland, where communist ideology had no monopoly on minds and shared spiritual power with Roman Catholic doctrine. And in social theory, there was a stream of different intellectual traditions. To name only one of the great sociological pundits – Florian Znaniecky. And in the 1950s and 1960s, Polish sociologists introduced to the world's sociological community such scholars as Zygmunt Bauman and Leszek Kolakowski (both after 1968 had to leave the country). But there were other scientists not so famous who made very productive and interesting research work and euristic insights and gave some lucid creative ideas for understanding social and political phenomena. And "Polish sociological bulletin" was in those years a very provocative and thoughtful reading. Therefore we selected from this journal some interesting articles of Polish sociologists published in the late 1960s. As the first in this series appears the article of Janusz Gockowsky (PSB 1/68).

FROM THE XXth CENTURY POLITICAL THOUGHT

# Functions of literary work in the sociology of politics

*Janusz Gockowski*

Political sociologists are mainly interested in and deal with *homo politicus*. They examine man in this role, in this aspect and take into account two mutually linked variants of that form of cultural expansion: a) activity in the field of structures of political conduct, b) activity in the field of foundation of structures of political thinking.

In the two cases the *homo politicus* is simultaneously (constituting a dialectic entity) *homo faber* and *homo symbolicus*. In the sphere of political socio-technique this entity is expressed in the unbreakable (although having varying proportions and forms) and mutually interacting coupling of the authority of power and authority of myth, in handling the game of argumentation of social energy and argumentation of the truth of ideas.

All what may be labelled as structures of political thinking, that is the area of political thought, may be divided according to the criteria of organicness of union with political reality into: a) structures of political thinking-homogeneous, and b) structures of political thought heterogeneous. The former include political doctrines, legal doctrines, declarations and programmes, as well as treatises and articles which are phenomenologically parts of political cultures and more important, they are virtually only these parts. They appear and function just as secondary and primary at the same time in relation to others and are parts of political cultures. Their cultural meaning consists in the fact that they are created, transmitted and received by *homo politicus*. Outside the field of political culture they play neither important nor causative role. They are simply charges of political ideology constituting the second area of political culture built in the first area within the framework of the structural – functional model connected with political conduct. The latter structures of thinking include above all works of art and scientific texts concerning politics or dealing with politics. These are parts of artistic and scientific cultures. Phenomenologically they constitute defined variants or forms of works of art or scientific pronouncements. In having to do with them we deal with expressions of human spirit from fields of cultural activities other than politics. In contradistinction to thought charges they are simultaneous and many-dimensional which means they are also parts of political cultures and parts of other fields of culture and above all are phenomenological in their core: they are either works of art or constructions of science. There undoubtedly exists a broad border zone between homogeneous and heterogeneous qualities. This zone is fluid and in a number of concrete situations or cases it is very difficult to make a reasonable ascertainment which would be clear-cut and comprehensible.

Nonetheless, these are varying qualities and one may reasonably use the following division; a) that which grows organically from political reality and has virtually only a political dimension, b) that which springs up organically from arts and science but because of certain (its) aspects takes also part in the political reality having other aspects and meaning apart from the political dimension.

Works of literature have their place in the sphere of political heterogeneous pronouncements on politics, that is those contained in works (compositions and constructions) belonging phenologically to fields of culture and forms of intellectual expression other than politics. To them I want to pay due attention in this paper. These are works that have certain particular value, as far as methodology of research in the sociology of politics is concerned. The values in question here are: a) presentation, through artistic recording of a literary type, of a "live human being" – a fuller, many-dimensional and parallel individuality, being an individuality, figure, someone possessing his own *ego*, b) presentation, through the literary narration of the human stamina-anthropological dimension of a situation, matters, phenomena, orientations of human being as individuals drafting responses to challenges in the field of possibility, c) presentation, owing to the specific cultural role of the artist-writer, of the stand of a moralist and non-conformist, being the spokesman on matters of human fate and not of schemes of describing projects in the political world, which is the construction of professionalists.

**A look in a famous novel might not only provide us with interesting reading, but give us instructive lessons about the nature of human behaviour**

To giving thought to functions of literary work in the sociology of politics comes after the decision to incorporate it into the area of objects of research, the most important being methodological operation in this respect. I would like to devote this paper to this very problem.

Differentiating between situations in which literary works occur or may reasonably take part in the sociology of politics as an ordinary subject of investigation and ones in which it may be a co-factor (a co-subject) of science-founding operations (formulation of scientific myths and shaping of critical reflections accompanying them) I propose to distinguish six functions of literary work in the sociology of politics:

(i) function as sources of information about the author's or his social environment's views on questions pertaining to politics,

(ii) function as the source of information about the position of literary art and its creators in the political culture,

(iii) function as the source of information clarifying social and cultural facts,

(iv) function as the source of model composition,

(v) function as the source of integral narration,

(vi) function as socio-technical directives.

The first three functions belong to a group of informative functions and are connected with the passive, subjective role of the literary work in investigation of sociologists of politics.The next three, on the other hand, belong to a group of science-founding functions which are connected with the active, co-subjective role of literary work in this research.

The function (i) emerges particularly clearly and distinctly when we have to do with artistic works which are characterized to a considerable degree by this what Vladimir Lenin called "party spirit." Bertold Brecht's *Herr Puntila und sein Knecht Matti* or *Der Kaukasische Kreidekreis,* Milton's poems *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained,* Mikhail Sholokhov's monumental novel *Tikhyi Don,* Anna Seghers' *Das Siebente Kreuz,* Vercor's *Le Silence de la Mer,* Pierre Corneille's drama *Le Cid* and PedroCalderon's drama *El Alcalde de Zalamea* are typic and faithful examples of this very function.

Comparing the artistic works of Aristophanes, and the comedy *Hippes* in particular with the works by Nikolay Gogol, and his *The Inspector General* in particular, one may well comprehend the substance of the function (ii). Aristophanes, availing himself of civil liberties and freedom of creativity and transmission to wide strata of recipients of artistic works characterized by political pronouncements, was able to write and stage a comedy which was a pamphleteering, mocking caricature, an attatck on the then political culture in Athens. He operated the scale and level of the forces steering the State and threw criticism at the then leader, Kleon-Paphlagon whereas Gogol availing himself of the condescending consent of the authorities and the tolerance of the censorship and police could have written and staged a comedy being a mockery, a satire upon the political culture of the then Russia. But he, however, operated the scale and level of the force directing a district town. That what Aristophanes sneered at and attacked was at worst a sphere of pathological signs in the model of political culture of an "open society." There was no game of zero sum between Aristophanes' ideas and the core of political modality of the then Athenese democracy on that matter. On the other hand, Gogol depicted in *The Inspector General* a section of the system as being a pathological model of a political culture, which was an exceptionally ignominious example of "closed society." All he could have done was to present that section as a caricature of "the terrain." There existed in fact a close and logical tie between Nicolai the First and Count Benkendorff, between Burgomaster and Khlestakov. They all were typical characters for the political culture of Czardom. The comparison of the *Hippes* to *The Inspector General* by Gogol not only provides information about the challenges to the artistic imagination and intuition of the writers in Athens or Russia. It tells above all about the political stature of the artist creating literary works in those two political cultures, as well as about the impact of literature upon the state of affairs in the State. One has to argue much to prove how instructive this comparison is for the sociologist of politics.

Ad (iii). Literary works are in a way intentional beings. They are called into being as articulations of the expression ensuing from the artist's intuition. Employing artistic fiction, illusion in the composition of a literary work the author does not oppose in fact but frees himself in a way from certain restrictions indispensible in the profession of scientific researcher. Owing to this literary works may be "the purest" versions of certain happenings of situation and thus enable the researcher of these facts to comprehend better, to see more clearly and distinctly certain matters and questions form the real political world. Novels by the American writers Norman Mailer – *The Naked and the Dead,* William Faulkner – *Intruder in the Dust* or Robert Penn Warrenn – *All the King's Men* do not deal with definite, concrete happenings that had taken place in reality and this is why the narrations contained in these books cannot be reasonably verified.

Nonetheless, all in all they allow to comprehend better (more clearly and distinctly) the concrete components of the American political culture: a) the danger of generals' advancement within the American elite of power who are politicking and oriented towards the imperialist hegemony of the United States in the world, b) the importance of ties of moral consciousness of the white population in the South with the acceptance of the consistent rule of law in the aspect of the racial problem as a problem of American democracy, c) the role of demagogy, intrigue, blackmail in assuming power as a source of prestige, the state enabling itself to take decisions on the fate of others and exercise control over broad

strata. These three novels do not inform about facts which can be described in the course of discussion. Was it so or was it otherwise? Anyhow, they are the indisputable source of information clarifying certain important motives to a sociologist, which lead to the shaping of views on the degree and character of discrepancy between the political culture of the American democracy in our times and the ideals of Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln, that is, those ideals which official spokesmen of that democracy admit every now and then in their public renunciations.

Ad (iv). Science cannot reasonably exist and function without models. Models constitute the *sine qua non* of science. Scholars carrying on science-founding activities, that is setting up structures of scientific thinking, operate models which they construct in the course of appropriate methodological operations. These models exist, however, not only in the sphere of constructive activities by scientists. Next to model constructions of science we have to do, in relation to phenomena being of interest to a political sociologist, with model compositions of literary art. They are a congenial, important, indispensable and original complement, enrichment and, as a result of translation activity, a deepening of the pool of scientific models. I will take the liberty to point out four novels presenting model compositions of phenomena being of interest to political sociologists. They are: Feodor Dostoyevsky's *Byesy*, Franz Kafka's *Der Prozess* and *Das Schloss* and Albert Camus' *La Peste*. Dostoyevsky created a model composition in his novel of a conspiratorial community directed by a boss guided by overvalued ideas of *"die Revolution des Nihilismus"* and of "the conspiracy theory of society." This is a model of a plotting, offensive community presented in the form of a small group in the germinal stage. But this model bears condensation of all those toxic qualities and trends which characterized large and demonic formations directed by Vierkhovensky Peters and inspired by Shigalevs of our times. Kafka depicted two variations on the subject of the model of the bureaucratic system as a political culture, state system and legal order, style of exercising control over those ruled by those ruling, being generally oriented upon reification of subjects to the hegemony of the estranged elite of power having *plena potestas* at its disposal and coupled with an alienated bureaucratic apparatus conceiving itself as an absolute value. Camus, in turn, composed a novel presenting a political sociologist's reflections by a model composition of conduct and consciousness on social scale in a situation of a "siege state," a state of being threatened, being bombarded with diseased community's charges which can be spatially separated and which were spatially separated by demonic forces. Man is a being which projects himself through signs and symbols. No wonder then that his creativity is full of various kinds, shapes and forms of models. A considerable part of them may be successfully applied in science-founding processes in humanities. Thus, it may be successfully utilized in the trend, in the field of sociology of politics.

When one deals with function (v) one means synthetic, abbreviated and symbolic notes bearing the phenomenology of the definitive and relatively important components of the political cultures (more widely of political reality). The "integral narrations" are compositions of a particular kind, whose general distinguishing value is this that they present the discussed object in abridgement: telling what is important and relevant, what the crux of the matter is and its core. In integral narrations, we deal with a high degree of condensation of the describing and evaluating argument.

**The literary intrigues often present the condensed pictures of political life such as the impact of myth-creating propaganda on mass public and the life**

The integral narrations contained in literary works are the valuable and important coefficient in the formulation of scientific theories to a political sociologist, I think, in construction of scientific myths, in shaping the imagination of scientific symbolism. I would like to point, as examples of integral narrations contained in literary works and as of interest to a political sociologist, Thomas Stearns Eliot's poem, *The Hollow Men*, which presents a short, synthetic picture of civilization's void of "natural greatness" and infested by a "process of disintegration of values," Samuel Beckett's *Endgame* (together with the *Play without Words)* presenting a short and condensed synthetic picture of the state as structural-functional modality requiring from its existence: elite of power, state apparatus and subjects, that is those ruled. Eugene Ionesco's *Chairs*, which presents a synthetic, short and condensed picture of such an important political phenomenon as myth-creating propaganda, that is, the activity indoctrinating oneself and others with over-valued ideas and articulated in the form of inventions, fantasy, delusions serving only those lie-mongers and being addressed to wide strata, that is, to "Goebbels' explanations to the public."

Now function (vi). Socio-technical directives are, that is they should be, derivatives of the orientation in the political reality. A political socio-technician is a variation of his kind of the role of the political sociologist. He should draw data and ideas from these sources from which the political sociologist – describing only the world and not striving for formulation of instrumental tasks, formulas of technology of political activity – draws them. Similarly, like the political sociologist, the socio-technician may, and in my conviction he should, avail himself of the inspiration contained in literary works. Being acquainted with works of this kind, the socio-technician of politics deals with testing grounds of imagination in which he can watch the variants of procedure of technology of political influence upon live, many-dimensional personalities. Works of literary art may not only inspire ideas to construct directives but they may also act as coefficients in selecting directives appropriate to given goals ensuing from the defined programme. Thus, works of literary art make it possible to master the intellectual outfit of political socio-technicians both offensively and defensively. In his *Troublesome Reigne and Lamentable Death of Edward the Second*, Christopher Marlowe presents a socio-technical game by feudatory Mortimer to win the position of number one in a situation exceptionally favourable to far-reaching destructuralization of the political and state order and the king's authority. Mortimer faultlessly uses all chances and opportunities, he flawlessly plays out all successive sequences of the game leading to the highest level. He loses the game, for at a certain moment he loses the control of all fields which are of importance in the game. Furthermore, he does not take into consideration to a significant extent the probabilist character of any "certitude" in the sphere of political game. The same Elizabethan playwright presents in *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus* a very instructive picture of an intellectual being shaped by a conspiratorial community which he joined in the name of "absolute values." This very community transformed him as a result of an appropriate socio-technical "processing" from an ambitious thinker into an object and puppet-like wreckage of a person. In the drama about Faustus' adventures in the infernal conspiratorial community, Marlowe depicted the possibility created by the union of efficient socio-technical apparatus on the one hand, and lack of fidelity to "natural greatness" of a person under pressure, on the other.

# Does the Ukraine need its own army?

**The Ukraine has agreed to sign the Union Treaty, hence it will entrust its defence to the Union Army. But there is also an alternative point of view**

It is because in its day the Ukrainian People's Republic (1917–20) did not have its own efficient army, Bolsheviks were able to overthrow the lawful Ukrainian government. It is because in the 1940–50s the national liberation movement in the Western Ukraine leaned on the relatively small army (the Ukrainian Insurgent Army) the Ukrainian people were able to resist for a long time both the German and the Soviet occupation.

The events of the "perestroika" period have shown that in those republics where more or less organized national military formations exist Moscow prefers not to take chances with a large-scale military intervention into their internal affairs. This is the case, for example, in Armenia and Georgia, and even if Moscow brings troops into such regions they adopt a neutral stance (South Ossetia, Moldova). However, the Ukraine is neither Moldova nor Georgia. Individual military formations will not save us. Only a regular national army will be in a position to defend our sovereignty.

So, what will it cost to the Ukrainian people?

Before 1989 it was officially stated that the USSR's military outlays amount to 20.2 billion rubles. In 1989 we were told they equal to 77.3 billion. Finally, for 1991 the USSR Supreme Soviet approved the military expenditures in the amount of 96.5 billion rubles.

But it seems that this figure includes only the expenses of the Ministry of Defence without showing other outlays that are scattered among different branches of the military-industrial complex. One can assume that the real military budget is 2–3 times this figure.

What part of that excessive burden is borne by the Ukraine? Since the official statistics passes it over in silence we are going to make our own calculations.

As is generally known, the Ukraine's share in the gross national product accounts for 25 percent. One can assume that the Ukrainian share of the military budget remains in the same proportion. In other words, if one is to believe the official figures it makes up about 25 billion.

One can also use another method of calculations. The Ukraine has the population of 52 million people. By correlation from the percentage number of the Soviet Union's population we can find the minimum percent in the military budget – 20 percent. That makes up 20 billion rubles – the outlays of the same order. And this is, as I have already said, on the condition that we assume that the 1991 military budget is 96.5 billion. But on the basis of detailed calculations and the analysis of the military-industrial complex pattern 300 billion look like a more reliable figure. In this case the Ukraine's share is 60-75 billion.

You don't believe it? Then let us make some more calculations. The Ukraine's 25 percent share in the Union GNP makes up 218.5 billion rubles. Yet the official budget of the Ukraine, that is what Moscow mercifully leaves it, is 50 billion rubles. Another figure has been cited in the newspaper *Molod Ukraini*: "Each year, the Union ministries rob the Ukraine of 100 billion rubles." The simple calculation shows that the difference between the Ukraine's share in the Union GNP (218.5 billion rubles) and the figure of the colonial tax (100 billion rubles) taken together with the republican budget (50 billion rubles) equals to 68.5 billion rubles that, undoubtedly, go into the national military budget.

According to my calculations, the Ukraine has stationed on its soil about 1.2 million servicemen armed with 14,000–16,000 tanks, 15 nuclear-powered submarines, 364 intercontinental missiles, 20,000 armoured personnel carriers, 20,000 artillery systems and 2,000 combat planes. In terms of strenght and fighting potential that approximately equals to the armed forces of the FRG (before the unification), Great Britain and France taken together!

If we want to become a normal European power, our army must meet European standards too. For who would like to live next to a hungry and ragged neighbour who spends all his efforts not for maintaining himself and his family and restoring his destroyed house, but for getting armaments? To boot, from time to time, in the backyard of that ragamuffin there breakes out a fire which threatens at the drop of a hat to burn down the entire village. Therefore, already now the Ukraine must state its intention not only to curtail the ecologically dangerous nuclear-energy programmes, but also to strictly follow the three non-nuclear principles.

Speaking before Ukrainian parliamentarians on November 27, 1990, the chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, Mikhail Moiseyev, stated that our republic provides over 17 percent of the draft to the Soviet Army. This is approximately 700,000 people, almost half of whom until recently served outside the Ukraine.

And what should be in my opinion the strength of the future national Ukrainian army? Considering the future professionalization of the army, giving up of nuclear weapons and the corresponding means of their storage, maintenance and delivery, the army's strengh will go down to 200,000–300,000. That is today, we have "under arms" 400,000–500,000 Ukrainians that are not necessary.

What will be the Ukraine's expenses for the upkeep of such an army? Such European countries as the FRG (before the unification) and France spend for their defence 2–4 percent of the gross national product. For the Ukraine such percentage of the GNP will amount to 4.3–8.6 billion rubles. That is the creation of the Ukrainian national professional non-nuclear army will make it possible to save almost 70 billion rubles. And one of the main guarantors of these funds being used for the realization of social, cultural and economic programmes precisely in the Ukraine will be its national army.

*Drawing by Victor Bogorad*

*Valery Semivolos,*
member of the Council
of the Ukrainian Republican
Party
KHARKOV

"I dreamed of becoming an expert on Africa ever since I heard Kornei Chukovsky's poem *Doctor Powderpill* at the age of five. Remember the lines: "Don't you go to Africa, dear little children"? Well, when you are forbidden something, you want it very much. I recalled this poem twice when I tried to enter the African department at the Institute of African and Asian Studies. Both times I was not allowed to take the exams, although I had passed the preliminary interview with flying colours. As it turned out later I was turned down because my cousin had married a Swede and lived abroad. That was enough for someone somewhere to forbid me my interest in Africa. But all this happened before perestroika. I already managed to work for two years at a factory and spent another two years serving in the army."

**Ivan Zgersky**, who shared his reminiscences with the *NT* magazine, did go to Africa at long last. And not simply to the African continent, but to the part of Africa which was a special "taboo" – the Republic of South Africa. He is the first Soviet student in South Africa and studies at the Faculty of Arts at the University of Cape Town.

"You can't!" – was the motto of the officials who were preparing and signing the necessary papers for Ivan's trip to South Africa. You can't study in South Africa, it's out of the question. And you can't get an exit visa. It's impossible, but not quite.

At the airport in Johannesburg Ivan was faced with another "You can't!" And that's what the country's authorities continue to say, because the Soviet Union is not among South Africa's friends. As for rank-and-file citizens, their attitude is of course entirely different.

The photo of Ivan Zgersky you see here was taken from the South African *Personality* magazine, which made a little sensation around the arrival of the first Soviet student who will study in South Africa.

* * *

**Nino Gurieli**, International grandmaster, many-time winner of international chess tournaments, from now on will play only

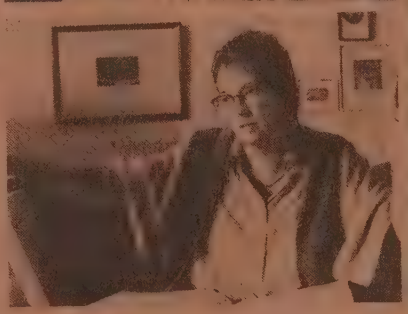
under the Georgian flag. Gurieli and her colleague Nona Gaprindashvili gave up the allowance of the USSR State Committee for Sports and refused to take part in any chess tournaments held under the organization's auspicies. She sent a telegram to this effect to the Chairman of the State Committee for Sports.

"I fully realize that in reply they may prevent me from participating in the inter-zonal tournament of the world championship at the end of this year," says Nino.

At the forthcoming full-scale meeting of the Georgian Chess Federation the two chess players are going to announce their decision. They want to set up an association of professionals which will include all women-chess players of Georgia, and are sure that their initiative will be supported.

As for the reaction of the World Chess Federation, they are not afraid of it. Gurieli suggests that the World Federation set a sort of an experiment and let Georgian chess players form a tem of their own and participate in the next five World Chess Olympiads. Nino promises to win them all. "I am sure," she says, "that we will win, because for the first time ever we will play for Georgia."

## Fortune-tellers



Contrary to residents of the Eastern part of the now-single Berlin, many of whom lost their jobs when Germany reunited, fortune-teller **Mona S.** can hardly find enough time to manage her affairs. Fortune-telling is in such demand that she has to conceal her address and last name. Nevertheless, her one-room apartment is always overcrowded. People need her advice not only in love matters. Everyone is worried over prospects on the job markets. Though Mona has never been a member of the Communist Party, she believes that her forecasts are always true. "I am fantastically truthful," she says.

Mona S. is proud that her career of a fortune-teller began when Germany was still divided. In 1988 she was recognized as an official fortune-teller of the state of workers and peasants on German soil. During holidays he was allowed to entertain people in one of the clubs in East Berlin. One day she told fortune to a modest lawyer Gregor Gysi, whom nobody knew at that time, and who now heads the Democratic Socialism party. When she told Gysi that he was doomed to be popular and that his party would spoil his reputation he did not take her words seriously. But they proved to be true.

Mona took to cartomancy at the age of 13. And the more often her words came true, the more she was afraid of her own abilities. She does not like to recall her former profession as a hairdresser. She gets more pleasure in telling about the 67 parts she played in movies and on TV.

It doesn't pay to be a fortune-teller. Mona believes that work for money's sake will inevitably lead to deception and hackwork. Therefore, she prefers to earn her living by writing for newspapers and appearing on TV and radio.

Her colleague **Sylvia G.**, a fortune-teller from the Western part of Berlin is trying not to give any advice to her clients, and takes a big fee. An hour-and-a-half-long talk with her costs a visitor 300-500 marks. After a brief conversation, Sylvia makes a diagnosis, leaving the decision to the client. Despite her devotion to astrology Sylvia's attitude towards the expression "Stars Never Lie" is quite critical, she considers it outdated. However, she does not deny the significance of the signs of the zodiac for determining a person's character. She finds it important to make a horoscope and does it with the help of her computer.

Prior to becoming an astrologist, Frau G. taught Germanic philology and geography at school. But she saw little comfort in the prospect of watching the discipline in the class. So she took up psychology, psycho-analisys and psycho-therapy, which finally brought her to astrology.

# People surrounding Boris Yeltsin

**These people cannot be described as the "team" of the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, but without them his work would have been much more difficult**

**Victor Ilyushin**, Head of the Secretariat of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation and its Chairman's aide, is not only Yeltsin's fellow-townsman, but also his colleague who worked together with him at the Sverdlovsk regional YCL Committee. "One can say, that Yeltsin has surrounded himself with 'his own people,' says Ilyushin. "But to my mind, it is only natural that the formerly disgraced leader was followed by people from the Urals and Siberia. I am sure that the expression 'Siberian character' is not just a figure of speech."

Ilyushin was born into the family of a worker in Nizhny Tagil. He spent six years working as a metal worker at a plant. Later he left the plant and became a party functionary. He worked as the first secretary of the city and regional YCL committees, and the district party committee, was then transferred to the Communist Party's Central Committee and from there to the Moscow city party committee. He worked in Afghanistan and graduated from the Academy of Social Sciences of the Party's Central Committee.

Ilyushin believes that his past as a party functionary helps him in his work with Yeltsin – he knows how to organize work, and without this knowledge he cannot do now. What hinders Ilyushin's work though is that the Russian parliament does not have a single and organic structure. In this respect there's a lot to learn from the CPSU.

Ilyshin believes that he is a risky guy. "All of us who linked their lives with Boris Yeltsin were risking our careers. Same as Yeltsin. But the new way of life demands that people be risky. Many people think nowadays that the main danger is over together with full-scale meetings of the Central Committee and the Moscow city committee and party congresses. But they are wrong. The Russian parliament has very serious and radical plans. It's lineup will change. New people will join it. Enthusiasts will be replaced by professionals – and this is also quite risky."

Asked what he will do if Yeltsin has to leave the political arena, Ilyushin says: "I am not afraid of drastic changes in my life. My family is also used to them. After all I was quite a good metal worker!"

* * *

**Alexander Korzhakov**, head of the security department of the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, is Yeltsin's "closest associate." He literally stands behind his back.

An officer of the Kremlin "Ninth security department," he came to the KGB right after his army service. He began as a private and ended up as the deputy head of Yeltsin's guard, even before Yeltsin was elected Chairman. But then he had to resign and go on pension. Following the full-scale meetings of the Moscow city party committee and the Central Committee, Yeltsin was left without body guards but Korzhakov continued to visit him. It was then that he was asked to hand in his resignation. He worked for some time with a cooperative which organized protection under contract. But when the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation decided to form a unit to protect Yeltsin, Korzhakov was again taken into government service.

This is what he says about Yeltsin: "... he could have practically anything he would ask for (during his membership of the CPSU Central Committee – **Ed.**). If he wanted to have a papaya for breakfast – he had only to say that. But he has always been indifferent to this. Same as his family. I saw this and compared them to others. But that's not the main thing. We are all products of our society. And there's nothing we can do about it. But I was amazed to see how Yeltsin managed to review and reassess his life and change himself. It affected me greatly."

For instance, working for Yeltsin, Korzhakov came to realize that he could no longer remain a member of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation and he announced his decision to discontinue paying his party dues until he learnt the number of the bank account of the Democratic platform of the CPSU. But then the Democratic platform left the CPSU and Korzhakov was excluded from the party ranks. However, he keeps the party card as a memento.

He had to refute some rumours about the Chairman:

"Once I read in the *Glasnost* paper," he says, "that Yeltsin's guard allegedly includes nine thousand Chechens, who spend their leisure plundering Moscow. They even published the name of the employee of the Ministry of Internal Affairs who reported this. But Ministry officials told us that they had no employee by that name."

* * *

**Lev Sukhanov** could actually watch the construction of the building of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation. He grew up in Krasnaya Presnya and he could see it from his window. Sukhanov is an aide to the Supreme Soviet Chairman.

He worked in Cuba, reconstructed sugar plants there and then for ten years worked at the State

Building Committee. Until the disfavoured Yeltsin came there.

"He invited me to his office," Sukhanov says, "sat opposite me and said: 'I'll be frank with you. But I want you to be sincere and honest with me. If you can do this we'll work together...'"

A month and a half later Sukhanov was made Yeltsin's official aide.

"When I decided to follow Yeltsin I was warned against it. People said that he was criticizing the Politbureau and so I would be destroyed together with him. And I kept thinking – things happen as they must. Whatever will be – will be for the best. After all, I had a chance to fill my life with a more serious meaning."

Sukhanov believes that a turning point in the life of the would-be leader of Russia was his speech at the Higher YCL School. It was obvious that he decided not to turn from the chosen path. Among Yeltsin's features that amaze Sukhanov he names his courage, benevolence, devotion to friends and extraordinary memory.

As for Yeltsin himself, he says that he regards as his "team" not only those who are close to him, but all those who have ever helped him and help him still.

ЗЕРКАЛО

*More details about the Yeltsin team can be found in Issue No.2 of the newly-established newspaper Zerkalo (Mirror).*

# "The world is bogged down in malice, in a rut,"

says **Otomar Krejča,** a Czechoslovak stage director. That was why he staged Chekhov in 1968 and in 1991

On June 10, 1972, Chekhov's *The Seagull* was on at the Za branou theatre, Prague. The audience was depressed, many cried: a murder was being committed right before their eyes. The victim was not the Seagull, but the company itself. That was the last theatrical production by Otomar Krejča, a stage director of European renown, who had got into the authorities' black books in his own country. Krejča spent nearly twenty years in exile and kept staging Chekhov all the while. Today, experts say, his interpretations of Chekhov have become a yardstick for any stage director working on Chekhov's plays. In Stockholm and Paris, Brussels and Genoa, Athens and Vienna, he never abandoned hope of returning to Prague and staging plays in his native tongue. Finally, the Za branou theatre – Krejča's theatre – has been re-opened.

**...Chekhov again, *The Cherry Orchard*. What is the pre-history of your long infatuation for Chekhov? Has your attitude to him ever changed over the decades?**

It varied, but it hasn't changed.

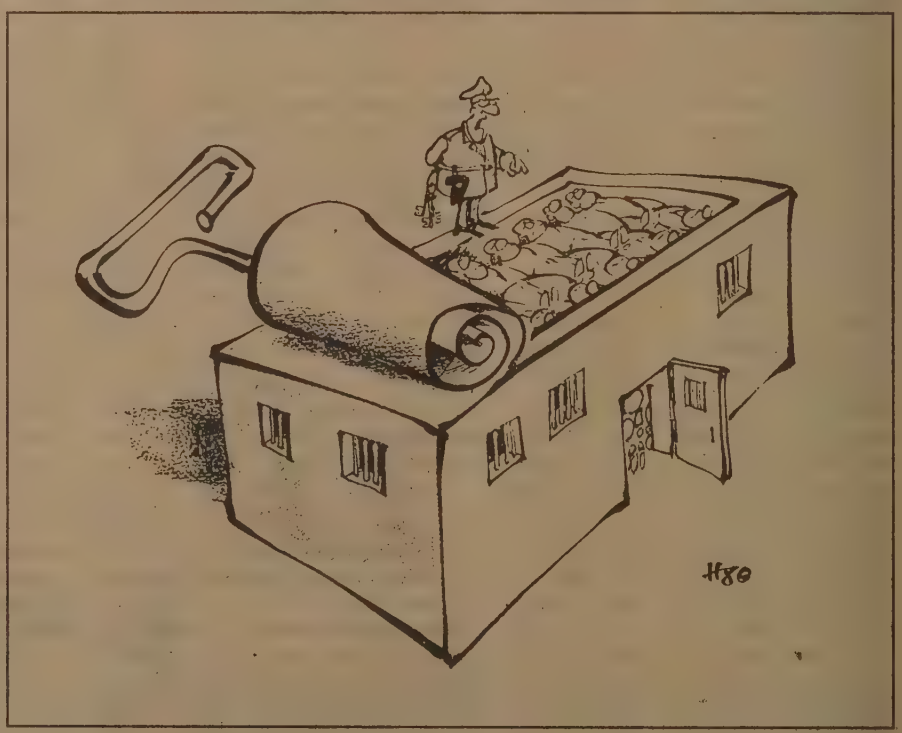
It was very long ago that I read Chekhov's early short stories in last-century translations. They made a striking impression on me. Later, I played Tuzenbakh in a *Three Sisters* production by a well-known Prague company. Some moments of that life on the stage – Tuzenbakh parting with Irina before the duel – are still in me, I relive them with my muscles, my vocal cords... Shortly afterwards I became the stage director of that drama company, and my first production was *The Seagull*. Although I have staged Chekhov's plays for decades in six European countries where I've put on more than 20 productions of them, words fail me to explain what Chekhov means to me. Everything about him is dear to me and fascinates me. In my youth, my enthusiasm for Chekhov was like drug addiction, he intoxicated me. Today, each time I address myself to Chekhov I make new discoveries and get new thrills. My present attitude to Chekhov is not merely an echo of the first encounter with him. Chekhov is unfathomable, I never tire of admiring him.

**But wasn't he repeatedly reproached for being narrow-minded, historically hidebound, ideologically indifferent?**

Indeed, many critics have found fault with Chekhov, and many still do. At the end of the fifties I was accused of "softening up" the audience socially by my "lachrymose" Chekhov production, which was impermissible, of course. Most spectators weeped – naughty, naughty! That distracted their thoughts from building socialism. Zhdanov's ideas were hammered into our heads, but Konstantin in *The Seagull* blew his brains out, that was awfully pessimistic of him! So *The Seagull* was banned. Our *Ivanov*, staged shortly after the 1968 occupation, was followed by repercussions throughout Europe, from Moscow to Paris, and few believed then that our theatre would be closed down. But the worst was inexorably coming to the worst. "Either you keep pace with us, or out with you," they yelled at me. "What have *Ivanov* and *Antigone* done wrong?" I asked. The reaction was a shrill, "Do you realize **when** you are showing **these** plays?" That was the so-called "normalization" period. The normalization of the abnormal. What finally decided the fate of the company was our denunciation of Soviet occupation.

**Indeed, tanks and Chekhov hardly go together. As Chekhov put it, the way we feel when we are in love is, perhaps, the normal state of a human being. However, it is hate, not love that is now often regarded as normal. Examples abound all over the world. Aren't those who call for love and truth just wasting their time?**

That is often the case. Calls for love and truth will probably never be heeded by all. Man is reluctant to join crusades, and it



*Drawing from Der Spiegel (Germany)*

is only when he stops **being** at all, that he stops being good and evil at one and the same time.

Chekhov's characters are distinguished for their thirst for love, beauty, decency. This is their creed. However, they live in a world of illusions. Their feelings often do not agree with reality. Nevertheless, the efforts of those who are trying – even though in their narrow circle, even though just the two of them – to live in love and understanding in spite of discord which is all around them are not in vain. Chekhov's call for love and the truth – soft and seemingly spontaneous but passionate and insistent – is necessary. If only we could get this call across to our audience from the stage! If only we had many attentive and responsive spectators!

**What would you as a stage director like to tell your audience today, when the theatre, along with society, is making a fresh start?**

Today of all times I do not feel like telling my "domestic" audience anything. Because I do not know more than Chekhov does. I should only like to recite, from the stage and through my actors, the great play about man, his hopes and illusions, about the world of the people with their faith and hallucinations, I should like to look deep, together with spectators, into the human soul. In other words, I want today what I wanted 25 years ago. But I must say that even today, when we have re-opened the theatre, our productions are reviewed by no means favourably... We have come under heavy fire again. You see, we haven't lived up to their expectations. We play Chekhov only, without any underlying concept whatever! As if Chekhov is not a concept in himself. Why doesn't a playwright, a writer, a poet or a stage director indifferent to ideology have the right to existence? Isn't what the theatre has been concerned with for ages – the man – enough?

The attacks our domestic critics are making on us are reminiscent of "Zhdanovism." I object to the ideologization of art and to the currently fashionable art forms which immobilize the soul and, consequently, lead to a crisis and even to destruction. Technological civilization and "consumerism" are trying to attach this or that ideological, social or formal label to art. Chekhov has been escaping from such labels for almost a century. With the passage of time he is getting hopelessly out of such critics' reach. He had this species in mind when he wrote: "I do not believe our intelligentsia, it is hypocritical, mendacious, hysterical, ignorant and lazy. I do not believe it even when it suffers and complains – after all, its oppressors come from its own midst."

Do I ignore the topical questions of the day? Am I a conservative? Yes, I am. Being a conservative does not necessarily mean repeating the past. It means developing what remains eternally alive. Responsibility for our own life and for life in general, the beauty of life and its imperceptible undertone of tragedy, its eternal mystery – this is what our company ponders over. Chekhov's hope which seems illusory. Beckett's expectations of a martyr of genius on the scaffold – this is how I'd describe the message of the plays we are staging now. The modern world has bogged down in malice, in a rut. The calls for hope get ever fewer responses. The question arises: what does the modern man live by, does he have any spiritual needs at all?

**This is a commercial age, an age of the market, trade, free enterprise. In one of our publications I came up against the following phrase: "Freedom of economic and social competition is the god worshipped by the whole world." Who is against free market relations and competition today? What have such notions as "God" and "worshipping" to do with that? And where does Chekhov – whom the author of these lines "keeps re-reading" – come in here? Whereas previously Petya Trofimov was the main character of *The Cherry Orchard*, all but the "stormy petrel" of the revolution, and Lopakhin – "a shark of capitalism," today, we read further, "men like Lopakhin constitute the new ruling class." (Somehow we just cannot do without those "classes.") Does that suppose to mean that the future is with businessmen who chop down cherry orchards? Is this a new interpretation of Chekhov?**

In Chekhov's plays, it is impossible to regard anyone as the epitome of the ultimate truth. Neither is any of his characters labelled as an epitome of evil. As to Lopakhin, there are a lot of misunderstandings about the character. Lopakhin has little to do with primitive business. If you want to understand him and find out the real worth of the beautiful but dying orchard, all you have to do is read Chekhov without bias. You will see then that Lopakhin is a strange merchant. He is a wise and gentle person who dreams of beauty and order. It was not for nothing that Chekhov wanted Lopakhin to be played by Stanislavsky himself. If by saying that the time of men like Lopakhin has come we mean men who have a good eye for beauty and the good, and to whom the sight of a poppy field in bloom means more than the profit they could get from it, then that's fine. After all, it was not for profit's sake that he has the old orchard chopped down, and for the purpose of planting a new, still more beautiful one for the generations to come. Needless to say, such a Lopakhin would be welcome to society in its present state.

**Anti-Russian feeling is strongly pronounced in your society at its present stage. Dislike for everything Russian allegedly came along with Russian tanks in 1968, although I don't quite see the connection. In the meantime you open your theatre and stage a Russian play about Russians. Could this be the reason for the "unfavourable" reviews you've mentioned?**

For the second time over a quarter of a century our company has tried to defy the power of rude and arrogant forces. Then, in 1968, we gained an insight into our spectators' souls and hearts. Soviet tanks still stood in front of the theatre's building when we opened our season with *Three Sisters*, and Irina repeated: "To Moscow! To Moscow!" The audience understood everything, especially the infinite agony the three sisters' lives were full of. The understanding, we felt, was even subtler than that shown before the invasion. Now the situation is different – and more complicated, it seems to me. The notion of "dislike" does not describe the mood here fully enough. It was not only in 1968 that arrogant Soviet representatives undermined the relations between our peoples.

Fortunately, neither in 1968, when the Russian tanks came, nor now that they left did I ever have to explain it to my audiences that Chekhov had nothing to do with that.

* * *

Za branou. *The Cherry Orchard.* Chekhov's Russian characters speaking in Czech. The house is not full yet. Za branou means "beyond the gate." Over there, that side of the gate, there is another theatre, a theatre of heated ideological discussions, acute economic problems, ethnic conflicts, emergent parties, movements falling apart, historical persons – and those just claiming a place in history – assuming a "new look."

And this side of the gate, there is Chekhov, "an intellectual without party affiliations," as Nabokov put it. Gorenshtein described him as "a man free from the pathologically schematic perception of the world which makes one a slave to a certain idea." And Katayev as "a man in whom democracy manifested itself morally, not politically."

Also this side of the gate, there is Krejča, who wants to say today what he did twenty-five years ago, although everything around him has changed, who stages Chekhov "concept-free" – and this in our times which are sorting people out according to their concepts of things.

The house is not full yet, a crowd of those ready to cross its threshold is gathering outside. People are beginning to realize that there are artists who merely hold a mirror to their times, but that the need today is for artists who show what these times are lacking in.

*Inna Rudenko,*
our own correspondent

PRAGUE

# We're going market!

*Alexander Ivanov*

We used to live well before. Not quite well, that is, but we could understand what's what, at least.

We knew that the economy should be economical, politics political, art artificial, and sex socialist.

Now we are in dark about where we are and what's happening to us.

They say that economic ties are breaking off. Can they really break off if they are **economic?** Not on your life! What does "to cut or stop deliveries" mean? Or: "horizontal links have weakened?" Or: "have been severed?" Can anyone imagine a Western company which produces things but does not ship them to clients? Or ships to clients what they don't want? Or hides what it produces? Will such a company stay in business for too long?

Consequently, our economy was not economical at all, and not even economic, but, I'd say, idiotically communistic. Georgia, for instance, was instructed to deliver such and such items to Lithuania on such and such date, and Lithuania was instructed to deliver certain items to Georgia by a certain deadline. Neither republic needed those items or profited by getting them. But failure to deliver them would have cost many bureaucrats their Party membership.

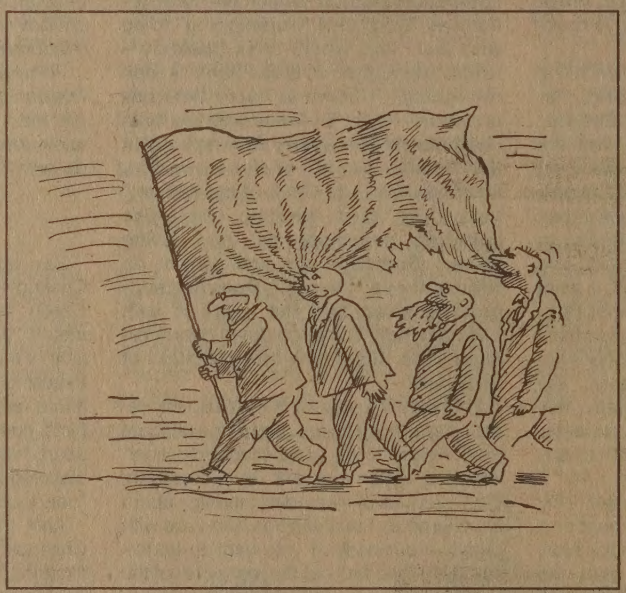
Now this kind of blackmail doesn't work any longer. Now people are withdrawing from the party en masse. It is a regular exodus. Some are held in the party all but by force. Those who change their mind are admitted back rightaway. New members are spared the nuisance of going through a term of probation. Before you can say "CPSU," they already hand you a party membership card. "Congratulations!" That's about the only thing readily available in this country...

The way out of the quagmire has been found, at last! Russia is going free market.

The hopes pinned by socialist political economists on a "regulated market," "a planned market economy" and other figments have been dashed to the ground. But not quite so.

Ivan Ivanovich Antonovich, a big shot in the Russian Communist Party, uttered the following phrase, without batting an eyelid, recently: "As far as the economic reform is concerned, I do not think that socialism and free market are mutually exclusive. I take a different view: I am certain that socialism and free market can get along fine together."

If Mr. Antonovich knows how to spin and reel at the same time, he doesn't disclose his secret. From their viewpoint, this doesn't matter much. All they want is to remain in control, and everything else can go to hell. (As a matter of fact, the country is going to the dogs.)



*Drawing by Victor Bogorad*

To paraphrase the popular proverb, you can't have your free market economy and plan it.

Therefore, whether some people like it or not, let's face it – the free market is what goes under the vague name of capitalism.

Those who are looking forward to capitalism have no cause for rejoicing, though. And those who hate capitalism needn't lose heart, either.

Do not forget that we are in Russia.

As a poet put it, Russia defies logic. It is unpredictable. You may rest assured that we shall build capitalism of a kind unknown elsewhere in the world.

You see, our dear Communist Party is going to build our specific brand of capitalism on the foundation of Marxism-Leninism to exclusion of all others. And that's that.

The construction of Russian capitalism will be superintended by our Soviet civil servants promptly renamed "managers" on the occasion.

It is common knowledge that spirituality is Russia's greatest asset. Actually, we have long been leading the world in spirituality. As you certainly realize, it is our main export item, too.

There will be no ministries. Instead, there will be companies and concerns headed by presidents and vice-presidents (formerly known as secretaries of regional and city Party committees). Appearances will be kept up.

Then the president of one concern will phone the president of another concern and yell: "What do you mean by shipping us all that muck, Mr. President? We intend our products for Holland, but they've been rejected even by Cuba, the last bulwark of the outgoing system. Shame on you!"

"Now wait a minute, Mr. President," the man on the other end of the line says, "we've done nothing to be ashamed of. Our conscience is clear. We have outstripped Europe in the number of churches per each member of our concern. And what about spirituality? Ninety-nine percent of our staff subscribe for the *Molodaya Gvardiya* and *Nash Sovremennik* journals. So your complaints are out of place, sir."

None of your silly jokes, those who believe in the vitality of capitalism may say. And what about competition?

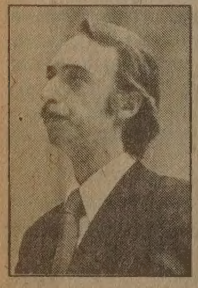
All right, picture another scene. A factory manager rings another factory manager, and all but sobs into the phone.

"Vasya, you are my only hope! We have goofed a batch of goods the Japanese are waiting for, God damn it! If you cross our path, we'll be done for! We'll go bust, it will be the end of us! Wasn't I godfather to your junior? I can be grateful, you know..."

"Never fear, Fedya old pal, keep your pecker up," the competitor replies. "We are Russians, aren't we, not the imperialistic sharks of the Common Market. I haven't forgotten your services as the chief ideologist. Those were the times! You may rely on me, the Japs won't get a thing under their contract, they may stick it up their – you know what. Sleep a peaceful sleep. Buy-buy, old man."

This is the kind of capitalism we are going to have in the foreseeable future, I'm afraid.

Instead of strikes and unemployment we shall have our famous team spirit. But this is the subject for another article. ■



**Alexander IVANOV,** a poet-parodist, anchorman of the *Vokrug Smekha* TV show

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